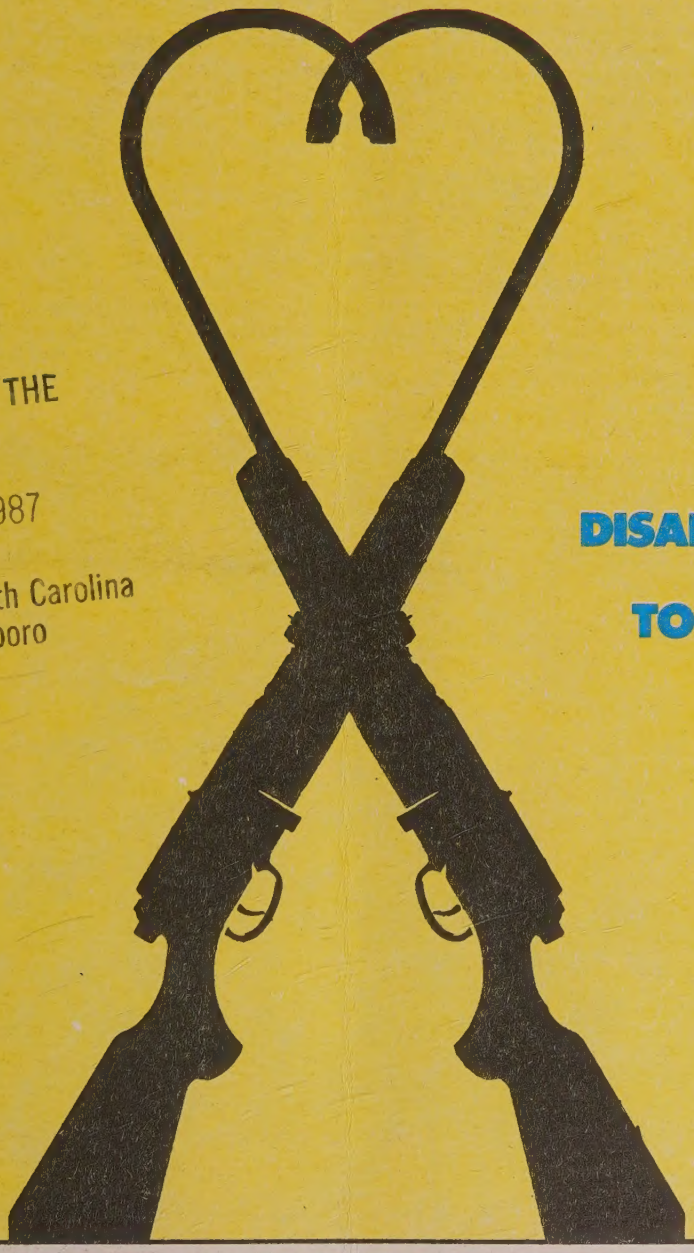
A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

New Times magazine on trial

NEW TIMES



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1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

Nikolai Batalov in the lead role in "A Ticket to Life."

The thirties were a romantic period in the history of Soviet cinema, a period when pictures ceased to be seen exclusively by small, select audiences and reached working-class neighbourhoods and remote villages, when each of the few films produced became a major cultural event in its own right and came in for heated discussion, and the heroes of favourite films were models to be emulated.

The first Soviet talking film, "A Ticket to Life," is about the head of a children's work commune who restores waifs to normal life and awakens their human dignity. At the first International Film Festival in Venice in 1932 the picture was pronounced one of the best, and its maker, Nikolai Ekk, was rated the most talented director.

"Chapayev," directed by Sergei and Georgi Vasilyev, and released in 1934, made history in world cinema. Georges Sadoul, the well-known film historian, described it as "a concentrated expression of the search for a new style, a harbinger of the sound film era." Whole factory collectives and army units went to see it.

The year 1936 saw the release of the film "We Are from Kronstadt" produced by Yefim Dzigan and scripted by Vsevolod Vishnevsky. The German writer Friedrich Wolf commented that "the film could only have been made in the Soviet Union, and only by Soviet cinematography. Had Hollywood chartered several U.S. Navy squadrons and spent millions of dollars, it would never have succeeded in achieving the emotional impact of 'We Are from Kronstadt.'"

"Merry Boys"—one of the best Soviet musical comedies.

The actor Boris Babochkin in the title role of the epoch-making film "Chapayev."

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OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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28

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NEW TIMES

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

I am a 25-year-old lathe operator, a vocational school student by correspondence, and a regular reader of your magazine. I have a bone to pick with you. As I read your Taking Up a Point column, I notice that in answering readers' letters your staff writers and correspondents are not quite to the point. Examples? Well, they are to be found in almost every issue over the past few years.

E. TYSHCHENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Living in North America how can one fail to be misinformed about the Soviet Union under the constant brainwashing of the capitalist media? The American radio, TV and papers are not only bringing pressure on their own people, but are trying to influence those living in other capitalist countries and in the Third World. As a result millions of people are deprived of objective and truthful information about life in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This is why your magazine should write more about various aspects of Soviet life.

T.BELL
Vancouver, Canada

For the ordinary Frenchmen like myself, and for most of my countrymen in general, the best option would be to withdraw the missiles from Europe and stop squandering astronomical sums on armaments. However, the present French government is going to waste over 500 billion francs in military spending. Their intention to do so has got the approval of all deputies, from the Socialists to the fascists of the National Front, with only the Communists rejecting it.

ROGER LESIEUR
St.Quentin, France

EDITORIAL

An unfinished trial

Life imprisonment for Klaus Barbie. Is the penalty enough? Experts on French law will explain at length that capital punishment has been abolished in the country and the death sentence imposed in absentia on the butcher of Lyons more than 30 years ago is no longer in force, by virtue of national legislation. All that is true. But the Lyons trial, lasting less than two months and coming at least 42 years late, poses many grave questions to which the verdict does not provide an answer.

In May 1945 few who celebrated the victory in the liberated towns and villages realized that the nightmare phantom of nazi barbarity would haunt the world for decades to come. Indeed, Nuremberg, that supreme manifestation of the human community's legal conscience, seemed to give substance to our hopes that the guilty would be promptly punished as they deserved it. But...

Consider what actually happened, not out of an unsatisfied sense of revenge, not from any desire to perpetuate memories of the evil perpetrated. Consider it from the angle of the human being's supreme right to feel his own humanity.Those politicians and propagandists who so charitably appeal to humane feelings and demand a pardon for the sinners - not only for the butcher of Lyons, but also for chief nazi war criminal Rudolf Hess - are guilty of a dangerous misconception. They see the figures of the nazi nightmare as ordinary, even suffering human beings. But on recalling that nightmare we realize that the monstrous substance of nazism was just this denial of their humanity to most of mankind. Entire nations, even groups of nations, were denied this right - first the Jews and the Gypsies, then the "degenerate French," and then the Soviet "untermenschen," and with them all Slavs. But now, we are told, we must recognize the humanity of the butcher who implemented those barbarous programmes with such incredible cruelty.

Why? Whence this peddling of all-pervading mercy? Simple logic tells us that the only advocates of such mercy today are the advocates of human inequality who despise other ethnic units. Confirmation of this is furnished by genocide in the Middle East and South Africa and the anti-communist crusades that need the Barbies and their ilk.

The Lyons trial also reminded us of the nazi occupation of France, atrocities on an unbelievable scale and the cynical use of nazi war criminals by American and other anti-communists.

Although history never repeats itself exactly, political artifices and concepts are reinvoked, especially in circles incapable of realism and desirous of revanche. All the greater therefore are the grounds for considering the punishment of war criminals incomplete. Only by sparing no effort to eradicate the pockmarks that nazism has left on the face of the earth can we demonstrate a truly humanitarian attitude. Although the case of Klaus Barbie has ended, for the other Barbies and their patrons punishment has yet to be meted out.

WHERE WE ARE HEADED

Economic reform: facts and principles

LEONID ABALKIN, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, director of the Academy's Institute of Economics, discusses the key problems of restructuring the economic management system with Vladimir Kvint, a leading researcher at the institute and a New Times observer.

Isn't the current reform a step back to the New Economic Policy?

The basic objective of the reform is to strengthen and renovate socialism. Much of what it is expected to bring differs substantially from the order of things to which we are accustomed. This sometimes elicits startled questions like "Where are we going? Forward, backward or, perhaps, away from the principles of socialism?" Those who ask such questions identify the socio-economic situation in the country over the past few decades with full socialism. This is a mistake. The structure of economic, social and other relations has undergone serious deformations, and in restoring it we are moving ahead, towards socialism.

We have learned to live with a shortage-prone and ill-balanced economy for decades. There are shortages in everything - modern machines, metal, energy, food, consumer goods, housing. The reform is aimed at building up a properly balanced economic system. It is such a system alone that will embody the genuine planned economy of socialism. Shortages and long queues are alien to the very nature of socialism. By balancing our economy, we shall raise it to a new level of development and make it more socialist.

There is another aspect to this problem. Wage-levelling has become common practice in our country, with the performance of individual workers and whole work collectives having no effect on their pay. The reform presupposes more good things of life for better work as the only basis for greater differentiation. This is only fair, and conforms to the principles of underlying our system. Does this mean more socialism - or less socialism? Is this a step towards strengthening socialism - or a step back? The answers to these questions are, I think, obvious.

The same applies to the promotion of complete cost accounting, self-financing and to the introduction of self-management; all this contributes to the strengthening of socialism, rather than leading us away from the socialist course.

And now, a few words about the New Economic Policy. In the scale and depth of the revolutionary transformations planned, and their long-term consequences, the current reform ranks with the New Economic Policy (NEP) - a major reconstruction of the economic management system carried out in the early twenties. This is not to say that the present reform is a carbon copy of the NEP - the political situation, the structure of society and the scope of our economy are different today. This reform can be likened to the NEP only as a means of highlighting the magnitude of our objectives, and the need for profound changes in our people's mentality.

Incidentally, does the adoption of NEP-type practices really mean regression?

The notion of the NEP combines a variety of phenomena. On the one hand, it was a strategic manoeuvre of genius contrived by Lenin, a return to the private ownership of business, individual enterprise, the use of some elements of capitalism as a means towards socialist transformations. At the same time, the NEP marked the first-ever introduction of genuinely socialist principles into practice. It was in the NEP period that complete cost accounting and the principle of material incentives were introduced. On the other hand, the NEP period saw the changeover of our economy to planning: the State Planning Committee was established then. As Gleb Krzhizhanovsky once pointed out, that was no mere coincidence. He referred to a letter of Lenin's saying that the adoption of the New Economic Policy did not abolish national state planning but only changed the methods of plan fulfilment. These words apply absolutely to what we are doing today. While not rejecting the plan or denying its leading role, we are changing our methods of drawing it up and fulfilling and go over from imposing plan targets on every factory by injunction and distribution by rationing to economic levers of management. We link planning with cost accounting, with initiative on the part of factories and the interests of work collectives. This, too, is a step forward, and goes to strengthen socialism.

"Let us call a spade a spade"

What about encouraging individual enterprise and cooperatives - is this also a step forward? Some of our readers have their doubts about it, and professional economists share their view.

Let us call a spade a spade and stop feigning innocence. Individual enterprise has always existed in our economy. Illicit, underground, the black economy, call it what you like. It is practised by barbarous illegal methods and often leads to an unjustified redistribution of incomes in favour of those who engage in it. This phenomenon has assumed a mass scale. We are not introducing individual enterprise, we are just giving this practice civilized and organized forms. As Lenin said with reference to NEP, we are learning to organize this activity in the modern, European way. We are legalizing individual enterprise, and introducing a system of taxation and elements of planning to it.

The use of the most rewarding methods and forms of economic management is even justified theoretically - and theory shouldn't be neglected, either.

Speaking of individual enterprise and cooperatives, why is it that so many people concern themselves so much about the earnings of those who work on their own? Some people are too fond of counting money in other people's pockets. We must look at it this way: does individual enterprise help meet consumer demand more fully? Is the public willing to use the services rendered in this form? Our own record and that of other socialist countries shows that the expansion of individual and cooperative enterprise makes life more convenient for the population. This activity not only meets the demand for all kinds of services but puts extra material resources and an additional workforce - pensioners, housewives, students - into circulation.

I am sure that bringing order and system into this activity - once quasi-illicit, disorganized and uncontrolled - also signifies a bold and resolute stride forward.

The early eighties found the country in a state of crisis. And it will be recalled that an economic reform had been attempted in the mid-sixties....

I think the situation here at the end of the seventies and in the early eighties can be described as stagnant, although stagnation is alien to socialism in principle. I'd say we were in a pre-crisis state. Had resolute measures not been taken (the first of them immediately after the November 1982 plenary meeting), there is no telling what would have happened next. I think the social consequences of stagnation would have been especially hard. Radical restructuring began after the April 1985 plenary meeting.

The development of the economy and of the productive forces underlying it is a continuous process. If production relations and their forms remain unchanged, if methods of economic management become rigid crisis phenomena are certain to set in sooner or later. Economic progress will be blocked by static forms of production relations, and stagnation will ensue. Stagnation can be avoided only provided these forms of production relations are not regarded as eternal but are continuously renovated and improved; what we economists call dynamic conformity to the development of productive forces must be maintained.

In the postwar period we have come up against this problem at least twice. The first pre-crisis phenomena and elements of stagnation manifested themselves in the early sixties - development rates slowed down, there appeared pockets of social tension and some imbalances in the economy. A reform was needed. It gave some scope for the development of productive forces. As a result, the eighth five-year-plan period (1966-70) was the highlight of our economic and social development over the past thirty years.

But that reform wasn't carried through to completion, was it?

It wasn't. First of all, it was not comprehensive. Second, it involved only the uppermost layers of the management structure, and was confined to replacing some indices by others and to some reshuffles in the central administrative bodies. The reform failed to reach deeply into economic relations, to effect cardinal changes in the status of the industrial plant - the main element of the national economy - and, consequently, in the status of the work collective. Lastly, it was a strictly economic reform which did not provide for all-round changes in the political system, social relations, and the spiritual and ideological spheres.

Today we realize that for this reason alone the reform could not possibly have yielded long-term results. The current transformations in the economy are not being carried out in isolation. They are a component of the overall strategy of perestroika, and this can produce results only if it embraces all aspects of life and aims at making our political system more democratic, adopting a new approach to the solution of social problems, enlivening the situation in the cultural and ideological sphere and making the climate there healthier.

The reform undertaken in the sixties did give temporary scope for economic progress. As they developed further, however, the productive forces once again came up against a barrier; as these forces had become much more powerful, and the system of economic interdependence much more complicated, the imbalances and other negative phenomena came out in much higher relief than had been the case in the early sixties.

As for the overall concept of the 1965 reform, it was ideologically akin to what we are undertaking now. It was not a fortuity that at the plenary meeting Mikhail Gorbachev recalled publications by economists of that time, in particular Academician Vasily Nemchinov. The work he quoted has lost none of its relevance. It makes exciting reading and is entirely consonant with what we are discussing today.

"A period of learning the hard way"

Does this mean that our society has effectively wasted twenty years?

Well, historically speaking there is no such thing as a complete waste of time. In spite of everything, we continued to develop, gained experience and learned from our mistakes. We got wiser. For instance, we realized that it was impossible to achieve anything by administrative measures alone. At one time we were under the delusion that such measures sufficed: we had not yet learned our lesson. There followed a period of learning the hard way. The fruits of such learning are none too sweet.

I don't think those twenty years should be deleted from our history. We achieved quite a lot in them. However we failed to keep abreast of scientific and technological progress, introduce new-generation technologies, and make more active use of social factors. Non-material values such as people's trust, their faith in changes, and the possibility of profound reforms - have been largely lost.

The reform of 1965 evoked enormous enthusiasm and gave rise to great expectations and hopes. And now, for all the promise shown by our profound and entirely new approach to management, we are faced with a very difficult problem - social apathy, which has spread far and wide. People are tired of words, solemn oaths and declarations and are no longer sure anything will come of them. "Now they are promising us stable output quotas," many say apprehensively, "but in a year or two, if we step up production, they will revert to the practice of setting plan targets on the basis of the actual output level achieved. So we'd better take it easy, wait and see...." It will be extremely difficult to convince such sceptics of the contrary.

Self-financing, cost accounting, market orientation - all this brings our economy closer to the capitalist one in a sense. The question arises: were the theoreti-

cians who predicted convergence, i.e., capitalism and socialism drawing closer together, too far from the truth?

This is a most serious question. The answer to it is not as simple as some laymen, going by appearances, might think. The record of world economic development has now made it clear to most people, if not to everyone, that there exist certain universal forms of social and economic progress.

It is quite obvious, for instance, that without competition any advance is unthinkable, and that the economy must be geared to the needs of the consumer, whose interests should come first. It is the consumer who should have his pick. The producer is supposed to serve the consumer's interests, to do his utmost so that his wares find a ready market, because it is on his ability to meet consumer demand that the income of a self-supporting factory, the earnings of its collective and social welfare funds depend. What is this: capitalist competition or a manifestation of certain universal economic laws? Under capitalism, these laws take on definite social forms and give rise to ruthless tooth-and-nail competition; under socialism, their forms should be entirely different.

Take crediting, for instance. We now realize that it is not an exclusively capitalist invention, although the idea should have dawned upon us long ago. The classics of Marxism described crediting and banking as a means of facilitating public book-keeping without which systematic control was altogether impossible. Now we can appreciate the accuracy of their assessment (undeservedly relegated to oblivion) of these universal economic categories .

The market problem may soon find itself in the spotlight. The capitalist countries are market-oriented, we are now beginning to put more emphasis on market demand, so it may look as if the two economic structures are drawing closer together. Aren't we introducing certain capitalist elements into our economy by shifting the emphasis to the market? We are not. The market is by no means a new economic category, but in our country its social nature is different, as a result of the property relations predominating in our society.

There exist general reproduction control functions without which the economy would fall apart. We preserve these functions. The difference between our society and capitalism lies not in the form, but in the social and class essence of production relations. What really matters is who reigns supreme in the country, who owns the means of production. I see no convergence here. We have different concepts of ownership. As for the forms, we ought to adopt the best of them. While using new forms, we should not shun the old ones - not reconcile ourselves to them, as Lenin wrote, but resort to them as means towards asserting socialism.

If certain economic forms such as market, banks and credits enhance production efficiency, accelerrate scientific and tecnological progress, rationalize the structure of the national economy, and do not contradict our principles, that is, do not lead to exploitation, to the oppression of certain social groups, these forms must be made the most of.

"The matter brooks no delay"

To what an extent is the economic reform connected with the development of foreign trade?

The two are directly connected; what's more, the development of foreign economic ties will have a stimulating effect on the progress of the reform. On the one hand, the standard of domestic production will go up, we shall manufacture the latest equipment, and improve the quality of our products which, incidentally, will help raise our export potential. On the other hand, with supply of food and consumer goods gradually increasing, irrational and inexpedient import practices and our habitual dependence on imports, more characteristic of a backward country, will be dropped. The expansion into the foreign market, and competition with Western companies will provide extra stimulus for scientific and technological progress. The right to choose will enable the consumer to buy imported goods instead of poor-quality domestic ones if he earns enough hard currency by producing for export. The consumer will get a real chance to draw comparisons between our own and foreign-made products. Consequently, this is a matter of competition not only between two factories or between state-run and cooperative enterprises, but between our production plants and foreign companies as well.

The resolutions of the June plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee provide for the establishment of production and economic bodies under the local Soviets of People's Deputies. Does this mean a return to the national economic councils that functioned in the twenties? After all, the national economic councils formed in the fifties to promote territorial cooperation were not subordinated to the Soviets.

We know from experience that combining branch and territorial management is one of the most complex problems. This problem is characteristic of our country, with its enormous territory and multinational population, so we don't even have anyone to learn from. The forms of management used before proved ineffectual.

I am far from claiming that these administrations will furnish the key to a final solution of this problem. To begin with, we must define their functions. For instance, promoting scientific and technological progress can be left to branch administrations, while the use of regional research potential, the comprehensive development of natural wealth, the utilization of labour resources, advanced personnel training, and the development of the production and social infrastructure are, I think, functions to be reserved for the territorial administrations.

The problem is to find ways of combining them rationally. It would be wrong to set up rigid systems without taking the specifics of various industries and regions into consideration.

The adoption by the plenary meeting of the document on the basic principles of fundamentally restructuring the economic management system was preceded by a nationwide expert and public discussion covered by the press. The most radical views were expressed. Some of them found no reflection in the documents. In your opinion is the programmatic document of the reform a compromise?

I wouldn't call it that. The document is a collective effort. The integrated concept it sets out is more than the mere sum total of opinions, and many of the suggestions put forward in discussions were rejected because they were out of keeping with the overall strategy. The document contains provisions of a revolutionary nature clad in the form of precise definitions and therefore not always eye-catching. These have yet to be deciphered for laymen.

Is it not the case that the document urging a changeover to economic methods of management contains many directives that amount, in effect, to non-economic coercion?

Theoretically, we could have waited for the principles of reconstruction to take root in economic practice. But we have no time for that. It has already run out. The state of affairs is such that this matter cannot be postponed any longer. Therefore, a thoroughly thought-out system has been elaborated by the administrative bodies, to be carried out in a natural democratic way. The factories have been granted every right to do that.

When will the restructuring of the economic management system be completed?

In 1991, at the earliest.

What do you believe to be the motive force of this restructuring, the force which will carry it to completion?

I would mention two such forces. First, the determination of our political leadership which is resolved to put all its ideas into effect. Second, the emancipated energy of the factory work collectives, which are getting the long-awaited independence. ■

Utsaw, a year-long festival

The Indian festival in the U.S.S.R., planned to last 12 months, got off to a good start on July 3 from Cathedral Square in the Kremlin, then on the boats that sailed down the Moskva River to the Luzhniki Stadium where colourful music and dance performances were in full swing. From there it is to continue throughout the country.

I spoke to the chairman of the Indian Festival Committee P.V. Narasimha Rao, Central Government Minister of Health and Family Welfare and People's Resources, and asked him what difficulties he had faced in the preparations for the festival. He seemed to be taken aback.

"Difficulties? " he repeated. "Well, there were some, but they were purely technical difficulties. But what mattered was the spirit of cooperation that reigned and still reigns between the Indian and the Soviet side, and the huge job done by all involved in the organization of the festival. Both our festival in the Soviet Union timed to coincide with the 40th anniversary of India's independence and the forthcoming U.S.S.R. festival in India to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution are a direct dialogue between our peoples, a demonstration of their friendship, their mutual symapthies, and mutual attraction....

India's ancient culture has always been imbued with the greatest human values: reason, goodness and justice. That is probably one of the reasons it survived and flourished. The Russian poet Konstantin Balmont, who visited India at the beginning of the century, described it as a Land of Reason, while another Russian poet, Nikolai Gumilev, called it a Land of the Spirit.

The Soviet people's interest in the festival is immense. This can be seen from the long queues for tickets to concerts by Indian musicians and dancers and performances by folk groups, and from the crowds in the building on Krymskaya Embankment where an exhibition of Indian classical arts from 3000 B.C. to the 19th century has opened. It is a remarkable panorama of the ages.

This form of mutual exchange, this people's diplomacy, reinforces government policy. It reached its apogee in the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World, signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Delhi last year.

The ideas put forward in the Declaration, N.D. Tiwari, India's Minister of External Affairs, told me, in one way or other directly affect the moral and political climate of the world. They are having a growing influence on the international behaviour of many countries, especially the non-aligned states. Even those who were initially inclined to regard it as utopian cannot but give serious consideration to the principles of the Delhi Declaration, the principles of the survival of the human race in our dangerous times.

The opening of the festival in Moscow gave the leaders of the two countries an opportunity to discuss basic issues of bilateral relations and certain current international problems, especially those that affect the security of the two countries.

The agreements reached during the top-level talks in Delhi and Moscow, as well as the agreements and long-term programmes signed on trade and economic and scientific and technical cooperation, make it possible to exploit the

production and scientific potential of the two countries much more effecively. Each is now going through a complex period. turning point in its development - period of restructuring in the U.S.S.R. and in India, the period of modernization. In practice this means a transition to new forms and methods of collaboration, to the development of cooperation and specialization in production, arranging direct ties between Soviet and Indian ministries, associations and firms, and undertaking joint ventures.

The comprehensive long-term programme for scientific and technical cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and India, signed on July 3 by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, marks a qualitatively new stage in relations between the two countries.

I asked the Secretary to the Department of Science and Technology Dr Vasant Gowariker to comment on it.

Top Soviet and Indian scientists, he told me, had a hand in drafting it. They visited one another at scientific institutes and research centres, and were thus able to judge both the potential and aspirations of the other side.

The jointly drafted programme, which takes us initially up to the year 2000, provides for close cooperation, exchanges of information in such leading scientific and technolgoical areas as biotechnology and immunology, new materials, laser techniques, catalysis, electronics and computer techniques, technologies for the search for water, and sources of synchrotron radiation. The new technologies to be developed will be put jointly to use in industry.

Soviet and Indian scientists will also carry out fundamental research in mathematics, theoretical and applied mechanics, chemistry, biology, astrophysics, and the sciences of the Earth.

Our scientists have cooperated in the past as well, and some foundations have been laid over the past 15 years. But there has never been such a massive, intensive and well-coordinated programme for joint action in the fields of science and technology at its most advanced stages. And it is fair to say that nothing of the kind has ever before been attempted by two countries with different social and political systems.

More than 50 institutes from each side will be drawn into the joint scientific research. Hundreds of Soviet scientists will work in India, while Indian scientists will come to the Soviet Union for long periods, together with their families. A joint Soviet-Indian council will be set up to coordinate all these activities.

Naturally, such intensive cooperation in the fields of science and technology will lead to wider and deeper Soviet-Indian economic cooperation, and in the most progressive directions, said Dr Gowariker in conclusion. All of us who took part in drafting the programme are very satisfied with its scale, concreteness and its potential.

Utsaw in India is a noisy, gay and joyous people's festival, a huge carnival. Rajiv Gandhi described the year-long Indian Festival in the Soviet Union as a festival of the spirit. It is a festival of two great friendly nations.

ALEXANDER USVATOV

"Not by prayer alone"

Peace prize for a government minister and priest

When the Nicaraguan priest Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann was offered the post of foreign minister in Nicaragua after the victory of the Sandinista revolution in 1979, the Vatican did not approve.... And padre Miguel was unfrocked. That was only the beginning of the difficult path he had chosen for himself. The contras bombed his home, and CIA agents made attempts on his life (there was an attempt to poison him, an operation run from the U.S. Embassy in Managua).

But he has grown accustomed to a life full of risks and to the vagaries of fate, having been active in the struggle against Somoza, and served for many years as a missionary. Now he is a diplomat and government minister. He leads an unusual life. In 1985 he staged a hunger strike in protest against the United States' interventionist policy in Central America. Last year he was one of the initiators and organizers of the all-Nicaraguan March for Peace and Life.

Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann has just visited Moscow, where he received the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations." When receiving this prestigious award in the Kremlin, he stressed that he regarded "concern for the fate of peace as the highest duty of all true citizens."

He is firmly convinced that the struggle for peace and the search for mutual understanding between nations is the highest duty of the church.

"But prayers alone cannot preserve peace, no matter how often you pray," he warned. "Prayers should give believers additional strength to defend peace, as our fighters are defending it on the borders of Nicaragua...."

The Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia who received Miguel D'Escoto at the Danilov Monastery, commented:

"My brother Miguel D'Escoto deserves the high award of the peace prize, especially as he represents a courageous people fighting for peace, justice, independence, and the all-round national development of their motherland. That is wonderful in itself. But for us it is doubly wonderful that a priest should be one of the leaders of the Nicaraguan people, a priest who is fully conscious of his Christian duty...."

When the new laureate was asked whether he saw any contradiction in the fact that had been awarded the prize of another country, named moreover, after a convinced atheist, Miguel D'Escoto replied without hesitation: "I regard Lenin as one of the greatest apostles of peace in the history of mankind. His wise principles form the foundation for the new thinking, without which peace cannot be maintained. I am happy and proud that the Nicaraguan people's struggle for peace has been acknowledged by a prize bearing the name of a man who belongs not only to the great Soviet people, but to the entire human race."

VADIM NIZSKY

Miguel D'Escoto and Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Byelorussia meet in Moscow.

NATO

As Rogers sees it

GENERAL ROGERS IS FRIGHTENED. HE SAYS THAT AT TIMES HE EVEN PANICS.

Instead of listening to the expressions of appreciation following his resignation after 8 years as Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces in Europe, he is out to raise the alarm. And what is worrying him is nothing less than the "future of Western Europe." But this seems to be a thankless task, one that has not added to his popularity.

So thankless is it that the General has fallen back on sarcasm. "I am only a dumb infantryman trying to make a living as a commander in Europe," he told a visiting newsman.

There seems to be no reason to quarrel with his description. Unless perhaps at last the offensive from the East, of which the General has warned for so long, has materialized. According to The Washington Post, the offensive took the form of "the flurry of arms control proposals that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has put forward." Moscow's wily scheme is to disarm Western Europe without having to do as much as move its own armed forces. Statesmen and politicians, to say nothing of the public, are blind to their fate, as they have been lulled by the prospect of the abolition of nuclear arms. They have been blinded and are ready to fall into the trap. "Time out, dammit! We have moved too quickly and it is time for us to sit back and think and reorganize ourselves!" exclaimed the General.

The direction of his thoughts and, indeed, of his programme are not hard to follow. It is based on retaining and multiplying nuclear weapons. He described the proposal to eliminate medium-range missiles as a "mad idea" because of the Warsaw Pact's superiority, as he put it, in shorter-range missiles. When things got down to this category of missiles (double-zero option) and the NATO foreign ministers agreed to it, the General immediately demanded what he called "time out."

The military-industrial complex: "Bury nuclear death! Only over my dead body!"
Cartoon by Vsevolod Arsenyev

The New York paper Newsday has reported that in the past few weeks NATO officials have been in a state of near-crisis, caused not by the growth of East-West tension, but on the contrary, by a reduction in it.

What prompted the crisis was the need to revise all NATO views and, even worse, its entire strategy. Since 1967 NATO doctrine has been based on the principle of a flexible response, which envisages the first use of nuclear weapons in Europe and the escalation of the war until American nuclear forces are drawn in. "The first-use option," General Rogers maintains, "is vital to a credible deterrent."

True to his convictions, the General applies the concept of "vital" to the doctrine of deterrence. The idea of conditions that could be "vital" to the West Europeans themselves never enters his head. Meanwhile experts are already speaking openly of the possibility of the very theatre of hostilities - Western Europe itself - being annihilated in the course of escalation.

In that situation medium-range missiles in Europe acquire a special significance. Pershing 2 missiles, for instance, "could hit any target within its range in 13 minutes and have the highest chance of any U.S. missile of penetrating Soviet defence." The shorter-range missiles are suitable for putting the entire mechanism of escalation into action.

One more view put forward by the General: the Soviet Union "is trying to de-nuclearize Western Europe, trying to break the coupling between the strategic forces of the United States and their use as a nuclear umbrella for Western Europe." That means that for its continued existence the American umbrella needs at least the threat of nuclear conflict, the threat to Europe, of course.

It would be hard to find a more striking example of the dangers of the obsolete way of thinking, and in matters on which the survival of mankind depends. Nuclear war cannot be waged, nor can it be won. That axiom is understood by all, though not, apparently, by General Rogers.

YURI GUDKOV

JAPAN - U.S.A.

A knife in the competitor's back

● AMERICAN CONCERNS ARE TRYING TO UNDERMINE JAPANESE-SOVIET TRADE AND SIMULTANEOUSLY RID THEMSELVES OF A DANGEROUS RIVAL.

The chairman of Toshiba's board of directors and its president have resigned. They announced their resignations immediately after the U.S. Senate approved the amendments to the trade legislation that banned the company from selling its goods on the American market for at least two years. Prior to that, the corporation's bosses had announced that they "would compel their subsidiaries to impress on the staff the need to abide by the laws, so as to prevent any repetition of such incidents." The corporation tried to convince the Americans that it was not responsible for the operations of a subsidiary that conducted its own business, but to no avail. The Americans refused to accept such arguments.

The Ministry of International Trade and Industry was instructed to review the legislation on foreign currency controls and foreign trade, as well as the act on export controls. This met with a sharply negative reaction not only from business circles, but also from the political opposition and even part of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party. They pointed out that, unlike Tokyo, West European governments are critical of any tightening of foreign trade regulations, and thereby ensure their companies greater freedom of action.

The firms that are studying the possibility of participation in the SDI programme have also started worrying: they fear that "the results of their research might be banned for use under the pretext of 'guaranteeing security.'"

The voting in the Senate was very significant: 92 for and 5 against. The senators accused Japan of betrayal, of undermining U.S. security, and criminal irresponsibility. Senator Dale Bumpers declared that had such an incident occurred during a war, those responsible would have been court-martialled and shot. Senator Jesse Helms added for good measure that the ban on the import of Toshiba's goods was in return for its betrayal and would serve to prevent other companies from committing similar crimes.

The Pentagon has complained to senators that it will have to spend an additional 180 billion dollars to restore the technical superiority over the Soviet fleet lost as a result of the sale of Japanese machine tools.... What is all the fuss about? Surely not because of a few machine tools sold to the Soviet Union? The whole business of the machine tools has been blown up out of all proportion, turning an ordinary commercial sale into a crime.

But there is another reason why the senators are out for blood. The U.S. deficit in its trade with Japan is so huge that Washington can't resist the temptation to sink one of Japan's biggest companies in revenge. The blow to Toshiba's prestige is an unexpected gift for American companies that have suffered from the pressure of a mighty rival. Or perhaps it was a long-planned action in the bitter competitive struggle?

The Toshiba affair is reminiscent of the Siberia-Western Europe gas-pipe affair. In both cases it is not the Soviet Union who is the loser, but the West European and Japanese firms that forfeit their access to one of the world's biggest markets.

LEONID MLECHIN

HAITI

Eighteen months later

● THE FIRST MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS SINCE DICTATOR DUVALIER FLED FROM HAITI WERE DUE TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN JULY.... BUT INSTEAD OF ELECTIONS, BATTLES HAVE BEEN RAGING ON THE STREETS OF HAITIAN TOWNS.

News coming in from Port-au-Prince speaks of more victims of the terror unleashed by the army and police against the Haitian working people. The authorities are using bullets and truncheons to suppress the general strike proclaimed at the beginning of last week by the trade unions and opposition parties against the anti-popular and anti-constitutional policy of the ruling triumvirate led by General Henry Namphy.

The General, once, incidentally, a friend of "baby Doc" issued a decree at the end of June according to which all control over the elections was to pass into his hands. Even without this decree, few local politicians believed that the forthcoming elections would be genuinely democratic ones, as they were to take place under a government that had

Haiti today. "Duvalierism without Duvalier": new bloodshed in Port-au-Prince.

TASS photo

been formed with some coaching from Duvalier and which even included some of his former ministers. (Namphy has set the date for the presidential elections for November 1987, hoping in this way to ensure for himself local support in advance.) The June decree was the last straw and the people lost patience.

The decree was condemned by everybody in Haiti, except the army. Its ranks number more than 7,000 men, but there are plans to increase the armed forces at least fourfold. Salaries paid to the military have increased threefold under the new ruler. And it is no longer any secret here that many of those who served in Duvalier's notorious security service - the tontons macoutes - have now donned army uniform.

Incidentally, when Henry Namphy - former chief of staff of the armed forces - came to power, he pledged to punish those responsible for crimes against the people. Predictably, he has failed to keep his promise.

The right-wing opposition, a coalition that includes politicians and churchmen as well as representatives of business circles, has demanded the reorganization or the resignation of the government. The aim is obvious: to find a place in the sun in the government council.

But what has brought real anxiety to Duvalier's former "colleague" is the unprecedented upsurge in the people's activity. Almost 18 months have elapsed since the bloody dictatorship was overthrown, but so far the Haitian people have not seen any changes for the better. At least half the adult population are still unable to find work.

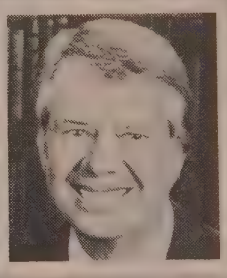
Washington, which despatched "Baby Doc" to the French Riviera to spend his ill-gotten millions, has so far not clearly defined its attitude to the present events on Haiti. However, it is clear that Duvalierism withut Duvalier would suit the White House perfectly, as it would ensure that American interests in Haiti are preserved. The United States is unabashedly claiming responsibility for organizing last year's coup. This year American aid to the Namphy regime - to bolster the "democracy" - amounted to 113 million dollars (Duvalier received at least half that sum from his illustrious patron).

The draft of a new constitution for Haiti was prepared with the active participation of the State Department. Incidentally, the previous constitution was also drawn up by the U.S. The measures now being taken to strengthen the repressive machinery and the army also probably owe a great deal to the Pentagon's efforts.

Information now available indicates that American "advisers" are arriving at military garrisons and bases in Haiti.Officially: in case of an emergency.

YURI KUDIMOV

Jimmy Carter in Moscow



To see a President of the United States - even an ex-President jogging on the Lenin Hills in the morning is rare indeed.

In Moscow Jimmy Carter and his wife changed none of their habits. Both were very fit. However, the questions I put to the ex-President were political. It was during Jimmy Carter's presidency that an agreement on arms control of the magnitude of SALT-2 originated. And it was during his tenancy of the White House that Soviet-American relations changed for the worse. I was interested in his views on what the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. could do to improve and stabilize the world situation and strengthen the new approaches to world affairs. What role had the SALT agreements played in Soviet-American relations, what were the prospects for new agreements, specifically on medium-range missiles, and what stood in their way? Whether by coincidence or otherwise, Jimmy Carter arrived in Moscow just as the Democrats were stepping up their election campaign.

Mr Carter was not inclined to go into details. But he did agree to speak of what he regarded as the main thing: the purpose and results of his visit.

Jimmy Carter:

The main purpose of my visit was to meet General Secretary Gorbachev and renew acquaintance with Soviet leaders I had met in the past. We had detailed discussions on the changes in the Soviet economy and on glasnost. Personally I was interested in obtaining first-hand information about what is taking place in your country. Your leader, I must say, made a tremendous impression. We discussed the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, and arms control. We also touched on the problems of political life in the United States. The talks were useful and sincere.

GALINA SIDOROVA

Plot fails, tension remains

The U.S. Ambassador has been declared persona non grata. The tide of anti-American demonstrations is surging in the capital in the wake of last month's mobilization of the country's right-wing extremists, whose excesses continue unabated.

Our special correspondent Vladimir DOLGOV describes these stormy events as he saw them.

Driving through the capital shortly after the first right-wing actions, I saw traces of the recent turmoil everywhere. There were shattered shopwindows and telephone booths, and traffic lights had been destroyed at many crossings. Troops patrolled the main streets and squares. Under the newly promulgated state of emergency, constitutional guarantees have been temporarily suspended, demonstrations forbidden and censorship intensified.

Nevertheless, the shops on the principal thoroughfare were open and banks were doing business as usual. In this fairly prosperous area I happened to see a right-wing "protest." Despite the state of emergency, at midday and again at 6 p.m. cars hooted 20 to 30 minutes on end, and their passengers waved white handkerchiefs, while from balconies respectable-looking middle-class citizens joined in the demonstration with a saucepan concert.

Several days earlier these same "demonstrators" had acclaimed leading right-winger Arnulfo Arias, notorious for his overtly pro-nazi views. I saw students responding to the inflammatory calls of the privately-owned Continente radio station by blocking approaches to the university, and setting fire to car tyres and garbage.

In a burst of activity, Christian Democrat leader Ricardo Arias Calderon broadcast calls to Panamanians to turn out to bring down the government. The régime's opponents have announced a "civil crusade" for the restoration of "justice and genuine democracy" and declared that they will not pay taxes or gas, telephone and other public service bills.

After the state of emergency was introduced a mass was celebrated in a church in the centre of the capital in support of the "civil crusade." Addressing the congregation, the priest exclaimed: "Rich and poor, we are all together." However, there were no poor present nor, incidentally, were there any poor among the anti-government demonstrators.

Manuel Antonio Noriega has lost favour with both the Panamanian right-wingers and Washington.
From U.S. News and World Report

The current crisis in the country was triggered off by the former Panamanian chief of general staff Col. Roberto Diaz Herrera (ret.).

The army is traditionally an influential political force in Panama; without its involvement no domestic issue can be resolved. No wonder the public reacted sensitively to the ex-colonel's allegations of a corrupted officer corps and government. He claimed electoral fraud in 1984, and that he himself had been involved in it, and levelled every conceivable charge against Panama's commander of defence forces General Manuel Antonio Noriega, a close associate of General Omar Torrijos, the leader of the Panamanian revolutionary process who died in a plane crash in 1981.

At the outset it was not clear what Herrera meant by his "revelations," whether they were the result of an emotional excess or whether he had been incited to make them. As General Ruben Dario Parerde, former commander-in-chief, implied in a public statement, Herrera's belated admissions could only serve to wreck the "Panamanian family" and jeopardize the country's lofty objective of assuming full control of the Panama Canal by the close of the century in line with the 1977 U.S.-Panamanian agreement.

Herrera's spurious exposés served as a signal to the Right. The forces of reaction have emerged at a crucial time. Panama, like many other Latin American countries, is gripped by incredible economic difficulties inherited from previous governments, which failed to honour promises of, for instance, higher wages and salaries as well as changes in the labour code.

Meanwhile, as the deadline for handing over the Canal approaches, Washington is striving harder to retain its position in the country. U.S. "empire builders" view Noriega as the main stumbling block, which is why they have now been trying for several years to discredit and oust the general.

When the crisis erupted last month, the U.S. decided that zero hour had arrived. In Panama, the U.S. Ambassador's call on Christian Democrat leader Calderon at this crucial moment was seen as outright American backing for the main opposition party. In Washington, support was voiced for "new free elections" in Panama. On Capitol Hill senators even passed a resolution demanding Noriega's resignation, as if he were a general in the U.S., and not a foreign, in this case Panamanian, army.

"Our present situation," National Assembly deputy Luis Navas of the Revolutionary Democratic Party told me, "is reminiscent of events in Chile before the September 1973 takeover. At that time the CIA exploited the dissatisfaction of Chile's middle classes and the petty bourgeoisie and in effect installed Pinochet."

Panamanians upholding national sovereignty are rallying around the patriotic bloc of the National Democratic Union, led by the Revolutionary Democratic Party. The entire officer corps has declared unreserved support for their commander and demanded that Herrera face a military tribunal. The National Democratic Union has called on its member parties to prevent destabilization. ■

WITHOUT A POLEMIC ITCH

Peace-making issues are discussed by representatives of peace movements in the West and the East

Is peace on the move?

WIM BARTELS,
International Secretary
of the Inter-Church Peace
Council, the Netherlands

Appreciable changes can today be observed in the security policy of governments. Almost daily we learn of new initiatives specifically linked with changes in society, as in the case of the Soviet Union. This is good news for the peace movement.

For a very long time we have had to put up with the bitter logic of nuclear deterrence and the division of the world into military blocs as the ultimate wisdom. As a result, the threat of total annihilation has been increasing, with runaway arms buildups continuing at every level. The policy of détente is at a deadlock, and people are living in constant fear. In the meantime, political developments and military and technological progress have been eroding the precarious stability that the system of deterrence, which is essentially opposed to peace, could hardly bring about.

The peace movement came into being as a reaction to the conflict between rigid political and military thinking and the innermost needs and aspirations of many people. That reaction was natural and therefore widespread. By the end of the 1970s the peace movement had penetrated deep into the social fabric of the Western world: political parties, religious organizations, trade unions, youth and women's organizations, universities and armed forces. Its ideas took millions of people onto the streets.

What was the peace movement trying to achieve? It can be said the movement was trying to promote a new way of thinking. The peace movement has a political rather than a military orientation, though it speaks out against armaments. Peace

campaigners think less in terms of nuclear deterrence and the balance of forces than of excluding armed force from the solution of conflicts and disputes, and lay stress not on military blocs but on the possibility of individual countries or groups of countries coming up with their own initiatives.

To achieve these objectives the peace movement needed partners both in the West and the East, especially in Europe, a continent that first mutilated itself, then became a theatre of political clashes between the superpowers, and split into opposing military-political blocs.

"Dangerous beings"

But establishing cooperation was not an easy task, as we usually had to enter into contact with groups and organizations that agreed with us on only one issue, whereas on others they looked on us as dangerous beings capable of subversive action. For instance, one was invited for joint discussions with peace committees of socialist countries which, although sharing your opposition to new missiles in Western Europe, strongly warn at the same time against any interference in their internal affairs. If you nevertheless initiated a conversation in these countries - in the interests of international détente and mutual confidence - on the need for openness and free dialogue, the importance of personal initiative or on fundamental human rights, if you met with people who dedicated themselves to these goals, you could face expulsion or a humiliating treatment at the frontier.

True, I was always received hospitably in the Soviet Union. Only once was I subjected to such treatment, because of my contacts with members of the so-called "trust group." Although the group was denied the right to exist, we felt ourselves bound to it, because its members also insisted on the fundamental link between disarmament, détente and human rights. Similar groups exist in Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, expressing the interests of a considerable section of the population in these countries.

On the other hand, the cold war saw the appearance in Western and Eastern Europe of groups that justly demanded greater social openness and broader human rights but, simultaneously, ignored disarmament and even thought it should be considered a dangerous illusion. In the eyes of these groups, we Western peace campaigners were seen as "mouthpieces for Soviet policy" in our own countries.

Nevertheless, I think the dialogue between very different peace groups and organizations in the East and the West has brought some results, notwithstanding the tensions created by contacts and discussions with more or less official and more or less opposition circles. And that is not bad. Political progress, irrespective of the social system, is always an interaction of all strata of the society.

Joint statements and initiatives by peace groups in the East and the West increasingly confirm that the three components of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 - security, cooperation and human rights and contacts - constitute a single whole and should not be opposed to each other. It is also evident that the special task facing Europe is to develop, on the basis of these

three elements of peace, into a bridge between East and West, a continent and stronghold of peace.

Fortunately, the security policy of governments has lately been changing too, for peace movements can only develop if they are in a position to react to crises and new orientations of politics and society in the broad sense of the word - of official institutions and public opinion.

A utopia at Reykjavik !

What are the new developments today? First of all, the changes in the approach to East-West relations, namely, in matters of security, economic, scientific and technological progress, and environment protection, where East-West cooperation has become essential for survival. From now on, the goal of universal security should be pursued not in confrontation but by joint efforts.

Moreover, a crisis of faith in nuclear--deterrence thinking and the deterrence system itself has arisen. At the moment this crisis seems to be leading to new political initiatives, particularly between the two great nuclear powers. At the summit meeting in Reykjavik a nuclear-weapon--free world was discussed, something that had earlier been dismissed as a utopia, a dream of the peace movements.

This turn of events has alarmed the smaller nuclear powers, especially the European ones, as they believe that they have acquired increased status and greater independence thanks to the possession of nuclear weapons. The problem is also aggravated by the stand of the U.S. President. Though he rejects nuclear deterrence and says he is willing to cut armamentes and accept the zero option on medium-range missiles, President Reagan is simultaneously preparing to create a military defence system in outer space, which could possibly also serve offensive purposes. At any rate, if complete disarmament in the field of nuclear missiles is not achieved, this system could restore the offensive superiority of the United States.

The Soviet Union is in a position to take similar measures, but it is obviously giving preference to genuine and complete nuclear disarmament. This choice coincides with the goal of the peace movement. For our part, we believe that nothing will undermine plans for SDI and Washington's readiness to finance them as much as initiatives leading to effective nuclear disarmament and concrete agreements in this field.

It should also be noted that Western Europe is incresingly feeling the need to play a more important role within the Atlantic alliance. This question is under active discussion in all countries and political parties.

Détente from below

The events and changes that have taken place over the last few years are by no means unambiguous. But they have one important thing in common - all of them are a consequence of the breaking up of the traditional security concept based on nuclear deterrence and uniform bloc policies. It is up to the peace movement to discern the various elements in these new developments and to show that the existing disputes can be resolved in favour of new thinking.

The disputes should not be ironed out by old methods, however. Europe should not look for a way out in fresh attempts to build a shaky edifice of détente and armament by means of double-track decisions and new balances of every kind. The solution for Europe cannot be found in "star wars" projects (through European versions of anti-missile systems), in medium- and short-range missiles, or in chemical and conventional weapons. Neither can there be a solution in the repetition of the global East-West conflict on an autonomous European scale, with the British and French nuclear arsenals playing the main role in the concentration of West European military power.

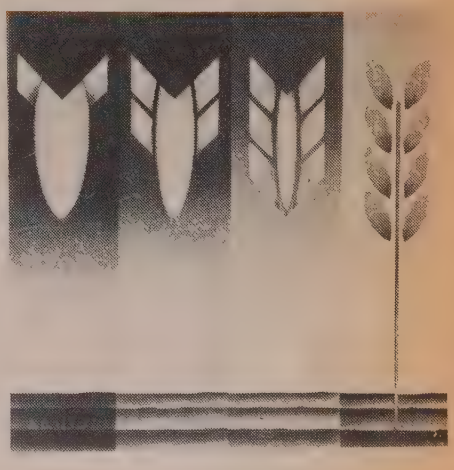
The only way to peace, for Europe too, lies in the awareness that in the nuclear age it is essential to work for common security instead of nuclear annihilation. Security presupposes the removal of the threat of such annihilation. But what is actually involved is the search for détente and the peaceful settlement of existing conflicts.

Since the involvement of ordinary people in politics is beginning to be essential, there arises the question of a free discussion of such issues as defence and foreign policy, the conclusion of agreementes in these fields, confidence--building measures, the promotion of economic and other kinds of cooperation, the exchange of people and ideas, and a system of guaranteed rights for nations and individuals. Détente from above should be supplemented by détente from below, détente created by the people themselves. In other words, the Helsinki accords should become the framework and main platform of those movements in the East and the West that are really worthy of their name - peace movements.

The discussion being conducted in the pages of New Times is a good example of frank dialogue. The Inter-Church Peace Council has made sure that this dialogue is also published in the popular Dutch weekly Hervormd Nederland. The word "glasnost" has now become so well known and understood that it may in time be included in our Dutch vocabulary.

Missed chances and prospects for the future

VLADIMIR OREL,
First Deputy Chairman,
Soviet Peace Committee



I have many times had the occasion to meet Wim Bartels at international meetings of the peace-loving public. We have got used to being opponents. It is true, fortunately, that the polemics which have at times developed into grim confrontations have not upset either our official or personal contacts. These contacts have now resulted in an agreement that we both contribute to New Times and the Dutch weekly Hervormd Nederland.

Having read Wim Bertels' article, my feeling was that this time our dialogue could not be continued in the old polemical style. On the whole, that's all to the good, since, as a rule, he who writes first is in a less advantageous position than his opponent, who can comment on the other's article. A true dialogue should be on equal terms.

It is not the Dutch author's fault that the problems he raised do not arouse a desire to argue with him. That is

a function of the situation that has developed in the world. The gap between the positions of the different parts of the peace movement is narrowing as regards basic issues. This is a many-sided process, and it entails changes in the views of both sides.

"Either the CIA or the KGB"

One can only regret that this narrowing of the gap did not occur earlier, that too much time and energy has been lost on arguing about "official" and "independent" peace movements, and on trying to prove that they ought to be equidistant from the superpowers. One thing is clear: no one in the movement gained anything from this internal confrontation, which at times developed spontaneously, while on other occasions it was deliberately rigged. In the meantime new nuclear missiles appeared both in Western and Eastern Europe.

Great hope, perhaps too much, had been pinned on the anti-nuclear movement at the beginning of the 1980s. And some of its West-European leaders let themselves be lulled by their early successes. A great deal was written about the unprecedented scale of the peace movement. And yet if one looks at the peace movement as a new phenomenon in international life, it has probably been underestimated.

In the public actions for peace, against the nuclear threat not every one was able to discern the most important thing, or if they did, not immediately. Not every one discerned the entirely new approach to nuclear weapons, to the doctrine of deterrence and intimidation, to military parity, to the very concept of peace as essential to mankind's survival, to new relations between states and peoples, in other words, the approach which has become the basis for what we today describe as the new mode of thinking in the nuclear age. And if any serious politicians in the West or the East did realize the existence of this new element, they attached no significance to it, regarding it as another pacifist delusion, or rejecting it as "scheming by the Kremlin" or "imperialist subversion."

The peace movement had become a new international force, which sought in the interest of humanity as a whole to bridge the divisions in the world, without siding with either West or East, the Soviet Union or the United States. This created additional difficulties for the movement. It was often accused of being manipulated either by the CIA or the KGB.

Some of the problems that arose were the fault of the movement itself. Determined at any cost to prove its independence of the two "superpowers," some of its supporters outside this country often lost their sense of objectivity in assessing both the policies and the concrete actions of the two superpowers.

Here is an example. When all the nuclear powers were testing nuclear weapons, insistent demands were voiced that such tests be stopped immediately. The demands were addressed primarily to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. But when the U.S.S.R. announced its unilateral moratorium on such tests, and all the anger should have been directed against the Americans, many people proved unable to respond adequately. The peace fighters missed a historic chance.

"Crusades" are not for us

The difficulties in establishing cooperation between the peace movements in the West and the East led to the false belief that while in the West the struggle should be for disarmament, in the East it should be for human rights. Although this obviously implies recognition of the peaceful nature of the policy of the socialist countries, yet the tenet itself is wrong in principle. Because both problems - disarmament and human rights - are universal problems. To try and suggest that the problem of human rights has been resolved in the West and all that needs to be done is to pull the socialist countries up to the Western level involves closing one's eyes to the real situation, especially as very often definite class political conceptions of preserving peace and security at the expense of the socialist countries lurk behind all the talk about freedom and democracy in the East. What is sought is, perhaps, not the complete abolition of socialism, but at least its transformation into a bourgeois (or euphemistically, Western-style) democracy.

At this point I should like to quote the General Secretary of the Inter-Church Peace Council of the Netherlands, Mient-Jan Faber. At a public debate with a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee in the Bally Theatre in Amsterdam at the beginning of June he spoke of the need to refrain from attempts to impose the Western model of democracy on East European countries and added that respect should be shown for the right of the peoples of those countries to determine their own ways of life. It is regrettable that this sober idea was not voiced earlier. But it remains valid today, and could be even more useful in the future.

Today our Western partners in the peace movement are full of admiration for the restructuring and policies of openness and democratization in the Soviet Union. Much that was responsible for the tension in our relations with a number of Western movements has now been removed. But could it reappear? Many people welcome our reforms as the materialization of their dream of transforming socialism into a Western-style democracy. But when the first euphoria passes and they realize that the restructuring means the consolidation of socialism, then they might again start arguing that it is not radical enough. Such arguments are, in the final analysis, directed against the Soviet way of life.

It is not for the peace movement to take part in the various "crusades." On the contrary, it should do everything it can to prevent the building of "the enemy image," and prevent the sowing of mistrust and hostility with regard to other nations simply because they have a different way of life. I would say that one of the basic missions of the movement is to ensure the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence.

"Trust group"

A great deal of friction and suspicion developed in connection with the appearance in Moscow in 1982 of the "trust group" mentioned by Wim Bartels. Officially they called themselves "For the establishment of trust between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A." and were portrayed in the West as "independent peace fighters." But it is the substance, not the name that matters.

The group was set up by a handful of people whose chief common ground was that, for one reason or another, they had been unable to emigrate to Israel. Most of them, if not all, have subsequently left the Soviet Union, though not as a rule for Israel, but for other countries. That alone makes one stop and think what the visa problem has to do with the struggle for peace.

There was also another aspect. The impetus to set up the group and support for its activities had come from abroad. That was common knowledge. Having no grassroots support inside the country, the group nevertheless received excessive publicity in the Western mass media, including those that have no love for the peace movement, even in Russian white-émigré publications.

Last year the Soviet Peace Committee was notified by post that the group had been dissolved. However, it later turned out that it had been revived under the name "For East-West Trust." At the information meeting-dialogue held in Moscow in May between peace movements some Western representatives said it would be desirable if members of the group were to take part in the meeting. This request was met, although until then the organizers of the meeting had known nothing about the group. Its representative was given the opportunity to put forward its case.

After that several members of the group came to the committee for discussions. The first meeting left many things unclear. We reaffirmed

that the Soviet Peace Committee is a representative coordinating body of the mass movement for peace in the U.S.S.R., and is ready to cooperate with all who sincerely want to work for the consolidation of peace, and the promotion of trust and mutual understanding between people. Such efforts, far from being frowned on in our society, are encouraged. Whether members of the "trust group" will want to work openly with other Soviet people for peace, or whether they will prefer to continue to pose as "independent" sufferers, is, after all, their own business.

People's diplomacy

In recent years the Soviet Peace Committee has been actively promoting people's diplomacy, but not as something in opposition to the official Soviet peace diplomacy. Some of our actions are reported in the mass media. But of most of them, unfortunately, not a word is written. And I have in mind not only the Western press. The Soviet policy of glasnost still has plenty of untapped reserves.

We are developing links with diverse public and political forces in other countries, starting an open dialogue with all who are dismayed by the nuclear threat and are ready for joint action for the survival of mankind. Thousands of Soviet people take part in these exchanges. They include meetings with foreign delegations directly in work and public collectives, in private homes, the organization of such mass undertakings as the peace cruises down the Volga, the Mississippi, and the Dnieper and on the Baltic Sea, the Soviet-American peace march from Leningrad to Moscow, help in organizing special tourist exchanges, including some at the level of the peace committees of the Soviet Constituent republics. As part of the Soviet-American march, the committee organized a spectacular concert in Moscow in which leading Soviet and American performers took part.

There are a number of new elements in our work inside the country. The committee has, for instance, sponsored a movement for the solution of the interconnected problems of peace and ecology. In this sphere there is plenty every individual can find to do. A rivercraft expedition is already on its way from the Danube to the Lena. It was organized by the recently founded amateur club Journeys to Save Peace and Nature which functions under the auspices of our committee.

The committee has also given its backing to another movement, Rock Musicians for Peace, and is arranging cooperation with representatives of this musical genre so popular with the younger generation. We have paid tribute to the sculptor Vadim Sidur, who was undeservedly overlooked in the past, by organizing the first one-man exhibition of his anti-war works in our building

Public disarmament committees and committees for links with religious groups working for peace have been functioning fruitfully for a long time under our auspices. The group Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament has already made a name for itself. Psycholinguists are working with enthusiasm on the far from easy task of compiling a vocabulary and other means of communication to overcome the "enemy image," establish mutual trust and create the partner image in relations with representatives of the foreign public.

The peace movement is democratic by its very nature. That is why the process of democratization and promotion of openness now under way in our country is so close to our hearts. In this context I would formulate the concrete task facing our committee in the immediate future as defining its place and potential with a view to playing an important part in the shaping of Soviet foreign policy and putting forward concrete peace initiatives.

(The drawing and poster by Italian peace campaigners.) ■

Soviet-American peace march from Leningrad to Moscow

The final lap of the fortnight-long Soviet-American Peace Walk was shortest - only a few hundred yards: from the Kutafya Tower of the Moscow Kremlin through the Alexander Gardens to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Below some of the peace-walkers share impressions with our reporter Evgeny Andrianov.

Joe Kinczell, Peace Walk director:

"We want nuclear weapons completely abolished. It's a long, hard process. Our march is specifically geared to promote the cause of nuclear disarmament. Our march across the United States last year was specifically geared to that cause.

"There are many, many, many paths to peace. Walking for peace is one of the more significant ones, I feel, because of the daily interaction that we have with the people that we walk with, whether they be in America or in the Soviet Union. We hope next year to invite Soviets for a Peace March across the U.S.

"The most positive impressions that I have had from this march are of the enthusiasm that the Soviet people have accorded us."

V. Sluzhivov (Moscow):

"What struck me most was the scene in Novgorod. When we were coming up to its Kremlin, we were told that some 5,000 had turned out to meet us. However, there were actually 35,000 as we were told later. The Americans simply got lost in the mass and the sponsors of the rally had to show much ingenuity to find at least some and make way for them to the platform. As for those who met us, they were most impressed that both Soviet and American peace walkers had children with them."

David Stein, a Californian businessman:

"The most impressive thing is the warmth of the Soviet people, the friendships that we've made and the love that we've left. I've made many friends - new friends with Soviets. Unpleasant is all we call bureaucracy. Often some trifle at a hotel lost us a lot of time, although we've had a lot of cooperation from the Soviet Peace Committee."

John Dewey and Ann Renrer of Ohio, who came with an 18-month boy:

"I think walking is a very good way to learn about each other. Mostly I will tell our friends that the Soviet people want peace just as badly as people in the United States want peace, and that there is no reason why our countries cannot be friends. Some people in the U.S. are very fearful of the Soviet Union, and I think there's no need for that fear."

Lt. Col. **Joshua Stanley** (ret.), a war veteran:

"The great love of the Soviet people far exceeded our greatest expectations, as we already saw on our arrival in Leningrad. I've seen people's eyes by the hundreds saying "Mir, mir, mir" to me.

Katherine Latour, a Californian office clerk:

"There was a suggestion that we were going to work on to come with a common Soviet-American journal that would talk about peace activities in each of our countries. Any and all ideas like that that come from this walk are very good.

"I have a jacket. On this jacket I wrote the names of all the people that supported me. Everyone represents many, many people, and they are all very eager for me to come back and speak to them and show them my pictures. When I come home I will tell them about the Soviet people, and if there is any scepticism beyond that point all I can really tell them is for them to come and see for themselves, the way I did."

(See also p.32.)

"Reading in one of our newspapers of the hostility to Vietnamese who come to Czechoslovakia in search of jobs, I wondered if there is unemployment in a communist country and that there are second-class citizens there."

W.I. HARWOOD
Manchester, Britain

TAKING UP A POINT

New Times commentator BORIS KOZLOV replies:

The truth about Vietnamese migrant labour

I know that the Sunday Times and after it the French Le Monde attempted to impress readers with what is really a piece of gross misinformation to counter the sorry fate of the gastarbeiter, as the workers who come to the F.R.G. in search of jobs are called. Both papers produced stories describing the alleged hardships faced by Vietnamese working in Czechoslovakia, claiming that life for them far from home was difficult, that they did the jobs Czechoslovaks won't do themselves and that the population hated them....

I have seen for myself the conditions of Vietnamese workers abroad, both in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere; I have been to Vietnam as well, and I believe I am in a position to judge the situation objectively at first hand and not from the sensational reports you refer to....

Several thousand Vietnamese do indeed work in Czechoslovakia. I have met them at factories in Prague and Bratislava. For the most part they are young people, energetic, enthusiastic and well-dressed. They are often to be seen in the company of their Czech and Slovak counterparts and colleagues. What kind of jobs do they do? Many different kinds: they work at the shipyards in Komarno, in housing construction, perfume factories and textile mills.... They get the same wages as Czechoslovak citizens for equal work. Each new arrival from distant Vietnam is provided by the Czechoslovak factory that employs him with clothing suitable for the European climate as well as with hostel accommodation.

It is worth looking more closely at the principles on which this system of cooperation, so important and useful for Vietnam, is based. And of course, it is preferable to get the information straight from the horse's mouth - in this case the Hanoi Institute of Labour Resources, which studies the problem of unemployment, still fairly acute in socialist Vietnam. It is a problem that has not of course been possible to resolve in the few years since the end of the protracted war that led to the country's reunification. The director of the institute, Lien Xo, believes with justice that unemployment can be wiped out by building new enterprises and a developed service industry, or, in other words, shaping a new economy. So far Vietnam has not got such an economy. It lacks suitably qualified people. In accepting young people from Vietnam, the other socialist countries are helping these youngsters, who as a rule have finished secondary school, not only to acquire jobs, but also to learn a trade.

Here is a transcript of the replies given by the director of the institute to questions about this problem.

What is required for a young Vietnamese to be able to travel to, for example, Czechoslovakia and work there? Who pays his fare for the long journey? How does he go about looking for a job? Where will he live?

The possibility of travelling to Czechoslovakia or another socialist country to work or study is determined by intergovernment agreements. The journey - an expensive one - is paid for by the state. In Czechoslovakia, as in the other fraternal countries, our workers are provided with living quarters by the factory on the same basis as nationals of that country. As a rule, they are accommodated in hostels with all amenities, for which they pay the same as their Czechoslovakian colleagues. But often, the factory foots the bill. Medical services, holidays, vouchers for sanatoria or rest homes, and all other social benefits are enjoyed by all workers on an equal footing, irrespective of their nationality. So our people become part of a single work collective with equal rights and of course, equal responsibilities. They return to their own country having, as a rule, acquired good professional training.

If a young person is going, to, for example, the Soviet Union, can he choose his place of work and future trade in advance?

Yes, from the list of Soviet factories in those branches of the economy in which we train skilled workers for ourselves. Even if an industry in which the Soviet Union does not require additional labour offers the skills Vietnam needs, our socialist friends will do their best to meet our requirements.

Is it possible for people trained abroad not to find an immediate application for their knowledge when they return home?

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"Carry on!"

The letters addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev that follow below, are from Great Britain.

Although I am not a supporter of the communist ideology, both my wife and I were greatly impressed with the sincere efforts that you are making to reduce tension in Europe. We express our support for you and understand how complex it is to negotiate with the present U.S. administration. Still we hope that already in the foreseeable future you will be able to carry out constructive steps in that direction. Some people I talk to tell me that the Soviet Union's broad proposals for peace have certain ulterior political motives. I feel that the urge for peace is quite natural for every normal person, as we are sick and tired of the nuclear arms race. Mr Gorbachev, your people know what war means and consequently have the weightiest reasons to work for peace. Please do carry on with what you are doing.

M.A. GOWAN
Hants

●

Please forgive me the liberty I take in writing to you, but as so many in these days are so slow to give praise when it is due, I would like to thank you for all you are doing for world peace. For you are not just speaking as so many leaders do, but are putting into action. You have set an example which other leaders would do well to follow. Thank you, sir, you have brought new hope to us all.

DOROTHY BRACEWELL
Lancashire

●

As an ordinary working person of England, I feel I should write and tell you how we feel about Mrs Thatcher. A young mother was found dead on the floor of her flat near where I live. She was clutching her dead baby in her arms. There gas and electricity had been switched off. Millions are living in poverty in a country that calls itself a democracy. It is really a capitalist dictatorship under which the Conservatives are robbing the poor to give to the rich. The Conservatives pour the money we pay in tax and insurance into British Nuclear Fuel and companies like British Aerospace, where they build nuclear weapons that we don't need or want. But they have shares in these companies, and this is why they try to convince us that we need nuclear weapons. The people of England would rather see their money spent on hospitals and schools, of which we do not have enough, and nuclear arms substantially reduced, which, I am convinced, is what your country wishes.

DAVID HEALEY
Waterford

●

I am writing to thank the Soviet government for the initiatives it is taking to bring peace to the world. At long last it begins to look as though the demands of ordinary people for a more sane and safe world are being reflected in the actions of world states. I think the Soviet government more than the others seems to be aware of our feelings and desires. As a member of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, I have been campaigning for the unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons, for more willingness to trust the Soviet Union who suffered so much in World War II. It is most heartening to see that your actions are beginning to succeed.

S. NICHOLLS
Balloch

●

To have a peaceful world it is necessary to eventually get rid of all nuclear weapons. We are writing to say how delighted we are with your proposal to eliminate medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe and we are hoping that Western leaders will be prepared to take up your offer.

Mr and Mrs R. SOFTLEY
Sambridgeworth

●

I think that the U.S.S.R. and the West are really getting closer on many topics, this can only be good for all concerned. I congratulate you on this success. As an ordinary citizen of the U.K., I have for some years taken much interest in life and politics within the U.S.S.R. I hope soon to enjoy a holiday in your country. I would dearly love to know more about yourself and your views on world events and also your long-term aims for the U.S.S,R., such as in agriculture. I have owned a Moskvich car and at present a Lada. I have been pleased with both, they are very well built. I wish you and your family health, happiness and lots of success for the future.

TERENCE F. IRONS
Kent

Hearings in a libel action against New Times opened in the Palais de Justice in Paris on July 1. This is the first time legal proceedings have ever been instituted against our journal. The following is an account of what happened.

A S S I G N A T I O N

devant le Tribunal de Grande Instance de PARIS

L'AN MIL NEUF CENT QUATRE VINGT SEPT, et le Dix Huit FEVRIER

A la requête de 1/ M. Lyndon LA ROUCHE, né le 8 Septembre 1922 à RODCHESTER (New Ampshire) USA, de nationalité américaine, demeurant Ibycus Farm, road 3 Box 91 - LEESBURG VIRGINIA 2207

The incredible story of Case No. 50285

On June 24, 1987, the legal department of the Moscow City Executive Committee phoned our office asking us to send an official representative to collect a summons to appear in court. A "suit had been filed against our journal in the Paris High Court. The relevant documents had been sent to the department from France.

This unexpected intelligence might have taken us by surprise had it not been for one circumstance: at the end of last year we learned that the compilation entitled "Nazism Without the Swastika," dealing with the activities of the so-called European Working Party (which exists in many countries of Western Europe and in the U.S.), published in our issue No. 36 of September 15, 1986, had evoked the ire of the people the material concerned. The plaintiffs in the legal action instituted against us in this connection are Lyndon LaRouche, a U.S. national, the actual leader and ideological inspirer of these groups, and the European Working Party operating in France. The defendants named are:

- Vitaly Ignatenko, editor-in-chief of New Times;

- Lev Bezymensky, Konstantin Isakov and Ernst Henry, the authors of the compilation;

- Lydia Bychkova, editor of the French Edition of New Times;

- the French bookselling firms Librairie du Globe and Maison du Livre Etranger, distributors of our journal in France;

- and, lastly, the Soviet airlines (Aeroflot) which delivers the journal to France.

We were informed of all this on receipt by ordinary post of a bulky envelope containing the texts of the complaint in French and Russian. Some of us were inclined to treat it as a joke in poor taste. But experts on French law took a different view - the case had to be taken seriously, they said, the more so since the defendants were being sued for 200,000 francs in damages for "moral injury" inflicted! Although the method by which the summons was served did not conform to regular legal procedure, the fact remains that the complaint had been filed and accepted for consideration by the highest judicial authority in Paris, which has its seat at No. 1 Bld. Palais - the famous Palais de Justice.

What's it all about! Say the defendants who prepared the article on the EWP.

In its issue No. 36 for last year, under the rubric "We Investigate," we carried a compilation of materials dealing with a relatively little known international anti-communist organization which has its centre in the United States (leader Lyndon LaRouche) but whose activities extend to many countries of the West (Sweden, the F.R.G., France, etc.). In all these countries there exist independent groups, each of them calling itself the European Working Party (EWP). The occasion for the publication of our compilation was the report that in the course of the search for the killer of Olof Palme a functionary of the EWP which had openly conducted a smear campaign against this outstanding political leader, had been detained.

How did we go about the task in hand? We asked Nikolai Vukolov, a newsman in Stockholm, and Alexander Tolpegin, our correspondent in Bonn, to tell us what they knew about the activity of the EWP in these countries. As regards the EWP in France, we drew on the authoritative testimony of Bernard Brigouleix published

in Le Monde. The Soviet researcher Yuri Oleshchuk collected data shedding light on the political physiognomy of LaRouche. After which Ernst Henry, a veteran Soviet journalist and participant in the anti-fascist struggle of the 1930s, gave his personal appraisal of the activities of the LaRouche crowd. All this was combined in the compilation the title of which "Nazism Without the Swastika" was borrowed from the writings of Dennis King, a well-known American journalist who had long made a study of the EWP. Summing up all the data, we wrote in conclusion that as an integral component of Western democracy, groups like the EWP are in practical terms a tool of the most reactionary forces of international anti-communism.

It was this that put Mr LaRouche and his French followers on the warpath. To quote the official translation of the text sent from Paris, our journal is accused of "indulging in vicious diatribes which undoubtedly contain a certain number of very serious libellous accusations damaging to the honour and reputation of the plaintiff, these insulting words being at the same time indirectly aimed at other EWPs."

What "insulting words," what "libellous accusations"? The plaintiffs adduce quotations from our compilation:

"American 'democracy' gives Lyndon LaRouche a free hand to propound racial hatred."

What is libellous about that? (Incidentally, this phrase comes not from the text but from a caption to a photo.) Is it libel to say that Western democracy makes it possible for LaRouche to seek nomination for the Presidency? As for propounding racial hatred, the U.S. press has written about this more than once. Moreover, when LaRouche instituted libel action on this score, the Supreme Court of New York state ruled on October 17, 1980, that his critics had every right to describe him as an anti-Semite.

Second quotation:

"Hermann Rebhan, General Secretary of the Trade Unions International of Workers in the Metal Industry, in an interview for Vorwärts, described the activities of the EWP and the Schiller Institute as 'anti-democratic, anti-Semitic, racist and anti-trade union.'"

Why then, one might ask, has the EWP instituted proceedings against us and not against Hermann Rebhan or the Vorwärts? Why do we not have the right to inform the world public about how leaders of the international labour movement evaluate the EWP?

Third quotation:

"The American press regards LaRouche as a rabid anti-Semite. He maintains that the Jews slandered Hitler by ascribing to him the mass extermination of the Jews which supposedly never happened."

Again, how has New Times given offence here by reporting the opinion of the American press? As for LaRouche's denial of the fact of genocide, that is exactly what the neonazis in all Western countries are doing.

But especially vicious is the attack levelled by LaRouche and the EWP against Ernst Henry for drawing parallels between the EWP and the nazi party. But how can that be held against a man who with the wisdom of experience analyzes certain political phenomena? By the same token all historical analysis would have to be discarded as a method. Ernst Henry makes comparisons and states the facts, leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

However, we do not propose to cite the entire text of the complaint, in which, incidentally, the plaintiffs have to admit that New Times based itself on information published in the press of the U.S., the F.R.G., Sweden and other countries. The cause of our opponents' annoyance is surely obvious to the reader as it is. That annoyance must have been great indeed, since LaRouche has taken action not only against Ernst Herny, but also against cub reporter Konstantin Isakov, who took part in interviewing one of the world's leading authorities on the problem of nazism and neonazism. And even Aeroflot!

Should we be party to this lawsuit? This was the question we asked ourselves on receipt of the "message" from Paris. We decided to consult the opinion of an authority in this legal sphere uncommon to us. Our special correspondent in Paris Lev Bezymensky took up the matter with Senator Charles Lederman. Bezymensky reports:

Senator Lederman received me in the library of the Palais du Luxembourg. I had had occasion to talk with him shortly before in Moscow, where he attended the Lessons of Nuremberg international symposium. A Resistance fighter, a well-known lawyer and public personality, Lederman is a leading authority in the legal world, and hence his opinion is of particular value to us.

"Should you be party to the lawsuit?" the distinguished lawyer repeated my question, as he leafed through the text of the complaint. "Certainly you should. I have no doubts whatever on that score."

In the first place, he explained, failure to appear in court could be interpreted as tacit admission of guilt, or at any rate, would be regarded as contempt of court. But there are far more important considerations involved.

"Of course the EWP is very small group, practically unnoticeable in French political life and eager for publicity. The point is that your journal presented the views of Soviet public opinion and your adversaries want, figuratively speaking, to muzzle you on formally legal grounds. However, the substance of the case is not formal but political."

"Is a French court in general competent to pass judgement on a Soviet publication?"

"You see, our law on the press is inflexible. If an article appears in the French language and is circulated in France legal action can be taken."

"But Lyndon LaRouche is an American?"

"That is immaterial since the French EWP is also a plaintiff."

We could only guess of course why LaRouche chose to present his claim in France and not in the United States. Later one Paris lawyer voiced the conjecture that it might be because, according to French and U.S. press reports, LaRouche himself is facing prosecution in the U.S. (he is charged with financial machinations).

"The political meaning of the case is obvious," Lederman said. "The EWP and its devotees want to be considered 'true democrats' and to repair the unenviable reputation they have earned in the Western countries. After all, strictly speaking your compilation was based on Western evaluations."

"Would you like to see where the hearings will be held?" Lederman asked me with a smile. I was naturally interested.

Lederman, who is a practising lawyer, led me through the echoing corridors of the Palais de Justice. We entered a large hall known traditionally as the "hall of lost steps." (Here the sound of footsteps is indeed muffled.) In one corner of the hall is the entrance to the first chamber of the Paris High Court tantamount to a regional or city court in the U.S.S.R.). We went into a small but very beautiful courtroom, with dark-wood panelling ornamented in gilt, and wall hangings in sombre tones. A judge in a gown was presiding. Some case was being heard and one of the sides was addressing the court.

"The hearings in your case will be attended only by lawyers. Neither plaintiffs nor defendants will be present," my guide explained. When we left the

courtroom he added:

That is a historical hall. Marie-Antoinette was tried here. Did you notice that little side door? That is the famous door before which the deposed queen refused to bend her high-coiffured head. Danton too was tried here. But let us hope that your case will have a pleasanter outcome...."

A publicity stunt or a political move, we asked ourselves in connection with the lawsuit. In search of an answer we could not but recall the experience of our Luxemburg colleagues.

In our issue No. 49 for last year we published another exposure of the intrigues of the anti-communist forces, this time focussing attention on the notorious World Anti-Communist League.

While the piece was in preparation, Vyacheslav Boikov, the Trud correspondent in Brussels and our long-standing contributor, informed us that two leading members of the League, displeased at the publication in the progressive press of exposés of the League's direct ties with former nazis, had decided to take legal action. They had filed suits in the Luxemburg city court against the central organ of the Communist Party of Luxemburg, Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek. Soon afterward, the editor-in-chief of the Zeitung, Francois Hoffmann, visited our office.

This visit was extremely welcome both from professional and political standpoints. New Times, which considers it its civic duty to wage a resolute struggle against all manifestations of nazism and neonazism, against the reanimation of the dangerous legacy of hitlerism, had had occasion to write about the League and about one of its prominent members, Yaroslav Stetsko. Stetsko had collaborated with the nazi invaders in the Ukraine and after the war had found refuge in the United States. As far back as 1983 we had published exposés on his political allegiances. Our material about the League and Stetsko proved extremely useful to our Luxemburg colleagues when legal action was taken against them.

"As a matter of fact, two lawsuits have been started against us," Francois Hoffmann said. "The first by two Belgian senators who claimed that they and the World Anti-Communist League in general had nothing in common with nazism. The second complaint was made by an American citizen, the widow of Yaroslav Stetsko, who maintained that her late husband had been a 'champion of the freedom of the Ukraine.'"

We of course gladly gave Hoffmann photostatic copies of the original archive documents showing that the "champion of the freedom of the Ukraine" had toadied to Hitler and welcomed the German occupation. Other materials were found exposing the Ukrainian nationalists who entered the service of Hitler in 1941 and, after the war, found new patrons in the CIA.

Like Lederman, Hoffmann advised us to "give battle" and to hire a Parisian lawyer to handle the case for us. After considering the matter, we decided to entrust the defence of our interests to the well-known French lawyer Maitre Joë Nordmann.

Maitre Nordmann already knew about the legal action taken by LaRouche. It turns out that the Globe firm had asked him to act for them. He kindly consented to undertake the defence of New Times provided we supplied him with all the source materials we had used.

"But," he added, "you must remember that the French courts recognize only French-language texts."

And so dozens of articles and pamphlets dealing with the activities of the EWP and its leaders were translated and forwarded to Paris.

The EWP stages a pre-election show in Bonn.

We naturally told Hoffmann about the legal proceedings instituted against us in Paris.

"What parallelism!" he commented. "It looks like a 'coordinated operation' against the publication of exposés."

What had the EWP been doing in the meantime? Had any new evidence appeared that would question the validity of our evaluations?

There has been little mention of the EWP and Lyndon LaRouche in the world press in the past six months. True, New Times representatives have witnessed actions by the LaRouche crowd twice in this period. The first time was last autumn in Copenhagen during the International Peace Year Congress. At one of its sessions, a group of young rowdies burst into the hall and tried to disrupt the proceedings. They turned out to be members of the Danish organization of the EWP. The second and no less symptomatic encounter was during the Mississippi Peace Cruise. The participants in the cruise, including Soviet people, were given a warm welcome by the inhabitants of the towns on the banks of the river. As

for the few individuals who occasionally appeared carrying anti-Soviet posters, they were Lyndon LaRouche people.

LaRouche himself has not figured in the world press except for his latest sensational proposal - to build special concentration camps in the U.S. for people afflicted by AIDS. From Sweden came some reports that the police were still on the trail of the EWP, notorious for its hatred of Palme. A latest report, dated July 3, 1987, is that in the United States LaRouche has been charged with conspiracy to obstruct a federal investigation undertaken, according to CBS correspondent Rita Lynn Braver, in connection with the use by his organization of fraudulent methods of raising funds.

As regards the EWP in the F.R.G., a book entitled "Codename: Schiller" appeared there at the end of last year. Its authors, Helmut Lorscheid and Leo A.Müller, tell of a "new departure" in the LaRouche activities in the F.R.G. The EWP keeps very much in the background nowadays. Instead, the West German followers of LaRouche have concentrated their forces in the so-called Schiller Institute and in a new party calling itself "Patriots of Germany."

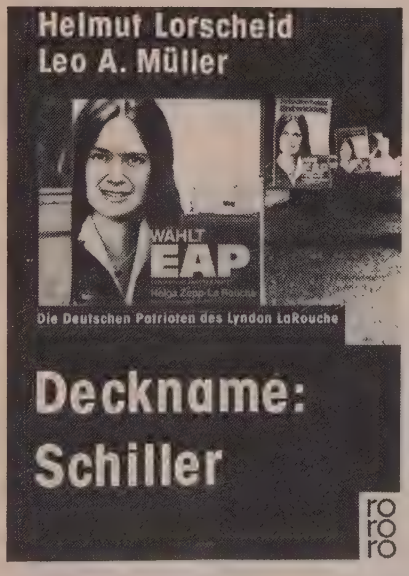
The book adds little to what was already known about the LaRouche organization. But that is not the authors' fault. "Our meetings with the ladies and gentlemen of this honourable society," they write, "took place in an extremely unfriendly atmosphere." Newsmen were barred from press conferences even though they had been invited. They were not allowed to interview anyone. "Press conferences without newsmen are not so rare at the Schiller Institute, the EWP or the Patriots of Germany, is the authors' caustic comment.

Nor had they been encouraged by the experience of other journalists who tried to probe deeper into this subject. Threatening phone calls, insults, summonses to court - this is what awaits anyone who ventures to take a critical view of the LaRouche organization. The book relates the following instructive incident. A resident of Bonn named Dr Klaus Karbe once voiced his indignation at provocative speeches delivered by EWP agitators on one of the city squares. Nearly a year later Dr Karbe received a summons to court. It turned out that the EWP functionaries were suing him for calling them "new nazis." They demanded that he be fined 500,000 marks or sent to jail for two years. The court dismissed the case against Karbe on the grounds that he had merely exercised his constitutional right freely to express his opinion. (Does this not apply to our case as well?)

Our interest aroused by the data given by Lorscheid and Müller, we asked our own correspondent in Bonn, Alexander Tolpegin, to give our readers more details about the "Patriots of Germany."

The Patriots, Tolpegin tells us, took part in the this year's Bundestag elections. But in a very curious way. Their congress was held in deep secrecy and their election campaign was conducted in the same spirit. I have heard of no press conferences or election rallies of this party, or of their candidates meeting with voters. But for the profusion of election posters they could compete even with the CDU. At any rate the entire five-kilometre stretch from the Bundestag to the Bonn district of Ippendorf, where the New Times bureau is located, was lined with Patriot posters. Some of them were reproductions of the famous photograph of an astronaut on the Moon, holding up not an American but an F.R.G. flag. Other posters claimed that only the "Patriots" could check the spread of AIDS. Still others said "No to the Empire of Evil." The poster left no doubt as to what this phrase of Reagan's meant.

A more detailed idea of the political line of the Patriots could be obtained from this party's numerous huge and hence costly advertisements published in the conservative press. For instance, an advertisement in the Bild-Zeitung (circulation over six million) intimated that the F.R.G. is threatened by a "terrible peril." It would appear that the Soviet Union is coming dangerously close to the attainment of its main goal - the establishment of its hegemony over "West Germany and thereby over the whole of Western Europe." How come? Because in Reykjavik there was talk of a "zero solution," meaning the withdrawal from Europe of the American medium-range missiles.



The cover of the book "Deckname: Schiller" ("Codename: Schiller").

In another advertisement inserted in the newspaper Die Welt the Patriots posed as "the sole guarantor" of the preservation of NATO, inasmuch as they "maintain the closest ties with those forces in America which stand solidly for alliance with Europe." Who these forces are can be judged by the signatures under the ad. Most of the signers are retired military men of different ranks. Among them is Milton Croom, president of the U.S. association of reserve officers.

The Patriots used all the opportunities the F.R.G. television offers the parties contesting each other in the pre-election race. The statement by Helga Zepp-LaRouche, the Party leader, boiled down to the same idea: the Patriots alone can keep the F.R.G. in NATO. As for he parties sitting in the Bundestag, all they do is "sell out national interests"!

It is noteworthy that by changing their shingle the West German leaders of the EWP have succeeded in winning the support in the F.R.G. of some retired ultra-right military men. Retired Bundeswehr Brigadier-General Friedrich Grunewald, who is now vice-chairman of the board of the Patriots of Germany party, told a Der Spiegel correspondent that "our goal is a Germany whose frontiers would take in all territories where German is spoken." The list of Patriots candidates included another retired Brigadier-General, Friedrich-August Freiherr von der Heydte, former CSU deputy of the Bavarian landtag.

The programme of the Patriots, which I found in the Bundestag library, also left no doubts as to its origin. It contains the familiar EWP eulogies to the "German nuclear technology," glorification of SDI and some vague disquisitions about the value of the "German classics."

The programme claims, in a revenge-seeking vein, "a continued legal existence of the German Reich within the 1937 borders," and demands "a territorial expansion of the German nation."

True, the net result of all this was nothing to boast about: in the election the Patriots polled 22,600 votes, or 0.1 per cent of the total. Not much? No, but it is ten times more than what the EWP had polled. Thus, orientation on the ultra-right yielded some fruit.

The appetite comes with eating — this French saying aptly describes the new trends in the development of the LaRouche "initiatives."

Meanwhile the preparations for the legal proceedings in the suit filed against us went on. In full conformity with the rules of French legal procedure, we turned over to our counsel all the relevant material. We learned from Paris that the hearings were to be held in May. Later the date was shifted to June 24, and then to July 1.

In May our defence counsel duly presented their own submission in case No. 50285, the number given to our particular case. The counsel drew the attention of the court to a number of patent inconsistencies in the complaint as regards both the grounds for the suit and its substance.

In the first place, our lawyers hold that the different European Working Parties (in France, the F.R.G., Sweden, etc.) are juridically independent parties. Consequently, the terms used by New Times to qualify the EWP in the F.R.G., Sweden or the United States cannot be grounds for complaint by the French EWP. By the same token, Mr LaRouche himself has no legal grounds for applying to the Paris court, inasmuch as none of the statements objected to in the complaint relates to him personally. This is an important, though formal point.

As for the substance of the case, the defence counsel drew the attention of the high court to the fact that the New Times article in question cites "perfectly authentic facts that have been reported in the entire foreign press," with the exact sources given in each instance. After analysing the said article, our defence counsel Messrs Nordmann, Grelon and Levy conclude that the purpose of the journal was to emphasize the dangerous character of the theses propounded by certain groups existing in Europe and the U.S.

Our judgements had been "most restrained and circumspect as regards the content of the theses upheld by the European working parties and Mr Lyndon LaRouche." Counsel assume that the true purpose of the complaints is to silence newspapers that spotlight the activities of Mr LaRouche and his followers.

And if confirmation of this conclusion were needed it was supplied by none other than LaRouche himself. It transpires that he and the French EWP filed with the same court two other complaints against Soviet Press organs that had criticized the LaRouche political platform, namely, the journals International Life and The 20th Century and Peace, the first put out by Znanye publishers, and the second, by the Soviet Peace Committee.

While we awaited the opening of the hearings, we received a letter from François Hoffmann from Luxemburg.

We learned that on May 7, this year, the seventh district court in Luxemburg had ruled in favour of the Zeitung vum Letzeburger Vollek, organ of the Communist Party of Luxemburg, in the legal action taken against it by the widow of Yaroslav Stetsko. Two months earlier the same court had dismissed the complaint filed by Senator Desmarets and retired general Close. These two cases are closely linked, as in both the plaintiffs were prominent members of the World Anti-Communist League, whose target was the Communist press and its editors.

May I remind the reader of certain particulars of the two cases. The League met for its 19th Conference in September, 1986. As distinct from the previous occasion in 1983, the authorities did not grant the extreme Right a venue for their assemblage this time. No official bothered to look into the uptown hotel the League had to retire to. Sixteen Luxemburg organizations, including Socialists, Communists and the Greens, voiced their protest against holding the Conference. Our paper's correspondents were not let into the conference room. Nevertheless, we exposed the League's connections and its real political objectives in every issue.

In all probability the right extremists of the League had hoped to use the Luxemburg court to repair their badly tarnished reputation, to whitewash their brownshirt image. Had they secured a court ruling in their favour, they would have done their best to silence not only the Luxemburg Communists, but also newspapers in other countries that dared to come out against the League.

But this time they miscalculated. The Luxemburgians still remember the horrors of nazi barbarism. Anyone who cooperate in any way with former nazi collaborators are held in contempt in Luxemburg. That explains why the Luxemburg Journalists' Union adopted a clearcut position against the League-inspired hearings. Most newspapers called them a "legal farce."

Four editors of the Zeitung at the first of the above hearings and its editor-in-chief at the second, categorically denied the charges of "defamation" and "slander." They proved that they had honestly performed their duty as journalists with

The West German EWP making propaganda for "star wars". The poster says: "Beam weapons for peace." Photo right: the magazine Fusion. (Reproduced from the book by Lorscheid and Müller.)

a full sense of responsibility by collecting data on the activity of the World Anti-Communist League. Moreover, all the published facts had been confirmed by documents they had found in the archives of the U.S.S.R. and the G.D.R., and in the F.R.G. Federal archives in Koblenz.

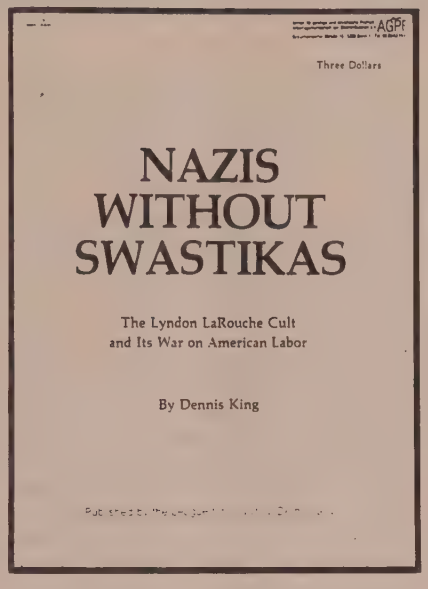
We were not surprised that the plaintiffs appealed the court judgements. Progressive public opinion everywhere will follow the appeal hearings with equally close attention. For in the given case it is not just a matter of a ruling in favour of the Luxemburg Communist press or against it. What is in question here is an attempt by die-hard international reaction to assert itself, to gain access to "high society" and to forbid anti-fascists to speak the truth.

Have the case of the F.R.G. citizen Karbe and the two Luxemburg trials served to create a precedent for legal action against us! This is not for us but for the top-instance Paris court to decide. The New Times case was brought before it on July 1.

We were told that there was no need for our representatives to attend the trial. True, Ernst Henry was so outraged by his political opponents' attempts to stop him from airing his opinion of nazis and neo-nazis under any name that he was prepared to speak in court. This would be contrary to the rules of legal procedure, however. Lyndon LaRouche hasn't arrived in Paris either - he is known to have other legal fishes to fry which does not prevent him and various EWPs from engaging in endless and costly litigations, as our representatives have learned from West German and French journalists.

The case hearing was last adjourned from June 24 till July 1.

On that day the hall in the Palace of Justice where the New Times case was to have been heard initially turned out to be engaged for some reason. So the court session was held in another, much smaller, room. Seated at a round table with a green cloth spread over it were three magistrates, on one side, and four lawyers, on the other.



The cover of Dennis King's book.

Jean-Marc Varaut, LaRouche's lawyer, was the first to speak. He took an hour to set forth his client's accusations against New Times. The other lawyers stated the cases of New Times, the Globe and Maison Du Livres Etrangeres and Aeroflot, respectively. The lawyer Bernard Grelon, representing the legal firm Joë Nordmann-Bernard Grelon-Alain Levy, set forth in detail the arguments refuting charges proffered against New Times. Having heard the sides out, the judge declared the session closed.

The court will pass its judgement on September 30.

We shall await the judgement, remembering not least of all that condemnation of racism and the preachment of hatred for other peoples was a conviction shared in common by the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition.

Let us add that we do not propose to identify the anti-Soviet action of Mr LaRouche and the EWP either with French public opinion or with the position of governmental bodies. The very modest place occupied by the EWP in the spectrum of French domestic politics is well known. Hence we do not want to exaggerate the importance of the LaRouche affair. Still less do we propose to offer any recommendations to the French judiciary.

We shall wait and see what the court in the Palais de Justice will have to say. Will the right of the Soviet press to express its opinions freely be recognized, even when such opinions do not suit those who are referred to in the U.S.A. as.... But let us not risk calling things by their proper names just to avoid having another libel suit on our hands.

THE PRESS

Happy birthday, colleagues!

The World Economics and International Relations magazine--30 years old

For more than thirty years the World Economics and International Relations magazine has been revealing the underlying causes of the various processes at work both in the world as a whole and in individual countries.

Here is a sampling of the subjects covered by the latest issue: perestroika and democracy (the process of democratization under socialism, the difference between socialist and bourgeois conceptions of democracy); the Socialist International and Willy Brandt's influence on it; Western European integration, the reasons for the Old World's economic malaise; the North-South dialogue and the role of the transnationals, the growth of unemployment over the past few years.

World Economics and International Relations is an academic journal. The current restructuring of the social sciences confronts it with new tasks. The magazine is a forum for creative research, discussion and clashes of views on various problems. It has launched new regular columns such as Foreign Experience in Economic Management.

On the occasion of the magazine's thirtieth annivesary, the editors of New Times wish it many happy returns of the day - and every success in the future.

Getting an exit visa...

How are human contacts and the reunification of families to be facilitated?

Rudolf KUZNETSOV, head of the Visa and Registration Department of the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R., is interviewed by New Times reporter Lev YELIN.

The process of democratization now under way in the U.S.S.R. surely involves your organization, too. Spheres of activity once hidden from the public eye should be laid open. They include the procedures of leaving and entering the U.S.S.R., the rights of Soviet citizens living abroad and foreigners coming to this country.

Considerable changes are now taking place in this field. In obedience to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union's international commitments, the spirit and letter of the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and last year's Berne Conference, and in compliance with the wishes of Soviet citizens, the Soviet government is facilitating human contacts and the reunification of families. A number of new rules have been adopted, and some of the previous restrictions and bans have been lifted.

In January 1987 the Statute of Entry into and Exit from the U.S.S.R. was supplemented with clauses on private trips by citizens both ways. Many Western human rights experts commented immediately that these clauses hamper rather than facilitate human contacts and restrict the number of those entitled to emigrate from the U.S.S.R....

On the contrary, the category of persons allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. for permanent residence abroad has now been enlarged considerably. Now citizens may leave not only on the invitation of their next of kin - husband, wife, father, mother, son - but also of their own brothers and sisters. Moreover, previously people most of whose close relatives were in the U.S.S.R. were, as a rule, denied exit visas on the grounds that their departure would break up rather than reunite their families. And now an individual can leave on his own brother's or sister's invitation irrespective of how many members of his (or her) family stay behind. Over the first five months of this year we have granted exit visas to over 8,000 persons- 1.5 times more than in the whole of 1986.

The supplementary clauses say that exit visas can be granted only to those wishing to see their next of kin. Is such a restriction justified?

The document laying down the procedure for securing a permit for a trip abroad on private business has been published in our country for the first time. After its publication, letters containing questions and suggestions began to come in. We took many citizens' opinions into account. Therefore, the rules have been amended to include other relatives besides next of kin, as well as acquaintances.

A person may be refused an exit visa on private business "for reasons of protecting public order, health or public morals".... What does this mean?

A Soviet citizen must represent our society abroad in a worthy manner. Can we let out a hardened criminal, even if the law-enforcement bodies are not after him at a given moment? Or a person suffering from a disease that makes him a threat to public health? I don't want anyone to get the impression that we are especially strict in these matters. There was, for instance, the case of Soviet citizen, Tyunin by name, married to a French woman, who served a prison term for black market speculations in cars. For exemplary conduct, he had his sentence reduced and, right after release, applied for an exit visa to be reunited with his wife. We let him go, but the French embassy in the U.S.S.R. denied him an entrance visa for quite some time on the grounds that his prison term hadn't expired.

Whose public do we protect in such cases - ours or theirs?

We comply with international law. The population of any country must be protected from public enemies.

Would you let out an AIDS case?

If pronounced a carrier of this infection, an applicant would be denied exit by our department. As far as I know, some countries, the U.S.A. included, demand that every incoming foreign produce a no-AIDS certificate.

Can we demand such a certificate from foreigners entering the U.S.S.R.? Would this be legal? And do we have the right to turn AIDS-infected foreigners out of the country?

The law on the legal status of foreigners in the Soviet Union specifies the circumstances under which they can be asked to leave the country. A foreigner may be told to leave, for instance, if he carries a disease that endangers our population. In view of the danger of AIDS, we can apply this provision to foreigners who have contracted the disease. The same law gives us grounds for keeping AIDS-infected foreign citizens off our territory.

A person wishing to leave the country is often prevented from doing so by his relatives here. The supplementary clauses say that an application for permission to join relatives living abroad is only given the consent of the applicant's family who stay behind, and a statement from an ex-spouse if there is one, that the applicant has no commitments to their underage children (if any). Which means, I presume, that he doesn't have to pay alimony. But it is easy to imagine a situation where someone withholds consent for personal reasons. Why then should an individual wishing to leave the country secure permission to do so from close relatives even if they live apart from him?

We proceed from the fact that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. grants equal rights to all - in this particular case, to

those who have applied to leave and those who have chosen to stay. Parents must take care of their children, and vice versa. Therefore, children must have their parents' consent to leave, and vice versa. The divorced wife's (or husband's) consent is required for the simple reason of ensuring that small children are not left without support until they come of age.

Following the publication of the supplementary clauses, many wrote to us asking why they had to secure the consent of a brother or son from whom they live separately and with whom they have actually lost touch. The Ministry of the Interior, in conjunction with the Ministry of Justice, has made this requirement more specific: one can now leave the country given the consent of father, mother and ex-wife (or husband) if under-age children are left behind. The consent of a son, daughter, brother or sister is necessary only if the applicant for an exit visa shares a home with them. True, if any of them officially lets us know that the person wishing to leave is under material obligation to him (her), we shall reserve our decision until the matter is settled.

We have an agreement on legal assistance with the socialist countries - CMEA members - whereby a person moving to any of these states does not have to produce evidence of being under no material obligation to anyone. Should any claims arise, they are examined by a court of law in the country the person has settled in.

If a person wishing to leave the U.S.S.R. fails to secure his relatives' permission to do so, he finds himself in a difficult position. What can he do about it? Can he have recourse to law?

Legal action can be taken only against those who are under material obligation. A person requiring his relatives' consent to his leaving the country cannot settle the issue in court. He can't obtain such consent from them by legal action even if he is prepared to pay the sum they claim is due from him, because our courts do not examine such cases.... The Ministry of Justice, the Procurator's Office and the Supreme Court have as yet to find an acceptable solution to the problem.

Soviet citizens permanently resident abroad write to our magazine complaining that if the mother is the only next of kin to stay behind in the U.S.S.R., and there are no acquaintances to send an invitation, it is only possible to see the mother once a year. Why can't more frequent visits be allowed?

Before January 1, visits to Soviet citizens permanently resident abroad and trips by such citizens home were allowed only once a year. By now this restriction has been lifted. A Soviet citizen resident abroad may be temporarily - temporarily, mind you - denied entry in exceptional cases only. Formalities have been simplified to a considerable extent, especially as regards the Soviet citizens resident in socialist countries. All it takes to invite a relative living in a European CMEA country is to file an application. No other papers are required. Invitation certificates are issued promptly. All the formalities involved in entering the U.S.S.R. can be carried out by Soviet consulates.

Can't invitation certificates be dispensed with?

Under bilateral agreements, this document must be produced when crossing the border.

Demanding an invitation certificate from a Soviet citizen who is leaving the U.S.S.R. to reunite with his relatives seems a superfluous formality.

It is not a formality. Such an invitation must be endorsed by the competent agencies of the country he wishes to settle in. In this way we get definite guarantees that the Soviet citizen in question will be provided with adequate housing and that he will be looked after - in the early stages, at least. Moreover, this certificate ensures that after we have let him out the authorities of the other country will not prevent him entering it. This is important. Before being issued with exit papers, an individual has to give up his job and have his name struck off the housing register. No one will evict a citizen waiting for a foreign embassy to grant him an entrance visa. Nevertheless, the situation he finds himself in here is rather awkward: he may have to wait for some time without a job and, consequently, in difficult straits. Now if the invitation is certified, this expedites the handling of the case by the other side.

Have there ever been cases of your department issuing an exit visa, but the other side withholding an entrance visa?

There have. For instance, citizen Ibrahimi and his family from Armenia were invited by his brother to take up permanent residence in the United States. We made up all the papers, but the U.S. embassy was in no hurry to issue the Ibrahimis with an entrance visa, thus interfering with the reunification of close relatives. On the other hand, the same embassy keeps sending us official requests to issue exit visas to persons with no close relatives abroad.

Let us now get back to the problem of travel for personal reasons. You say the restrictions on the rate of such trips have been lifted. Supposing a man wishes to come over 20 times a year and is prepared to exchange the maximum permissible sum of money each time. Would the state agree to that?

Money matters come within the terms of reference of the Ministry of Finance. Obviously, a solution has to be found to this problem. A number of countries, Poland and Hungary for instance, stipulate a certain sum of money to be exchanged by travellers abroad in the space of year. Portugal, too, I was told, allows a definite sum of money to be exchanged for foreign currency a year. This sum could see a traveller through one trip to the United States and eight trips to Spain, for instance.

What if anyone is prepared to travel without any cash on him?

He has the right to do so. Obviously, a daughter leaving to see her mother can safely carry no cash. But if you are going to stay with friends for a while - well, not everyone, I think, will go without a penny to his name.

How long can one remain abroad?

This is for the individual to decide on.

The following fact has evoked a great deal of well-justified discontent. A Soviet citizen resident abroad and coming to the U.S.S.R. by invitation is supposed to enjoy equal rights with us.

In fact, he could not even visit another city without notifying an agency of the Interior Ministry of his intention to do so.

I should like to reassure our citizens: now, like all of us, they can travel wherever they wish when on a visit to this country.

While making out an invitation to a foreign citizen or applying for permission to go abroad on a foreigner's invitation, one has to answer the question "Where, when and under what circumstances did you meet?" This is rather humiliating, I think.

This question will probably be removed, though there is nothing humiliating in it. I can explain why we ask it, though. By means of a questionnaire, or in an interview, we found out whether this was a real acquaintanceship or just a case of someone having "talked" a foreigner into sending an invitation.

Don't you think such practices come from faults in our exit procedures?

To some extent you are right. Up to now there have only been two ways of leaving the U.S.S.R. on private business: buying a place on a tour or securing an invitation. However, the system of guided tours cannot cater for all, while thousands upon thousands of people want to travel and see other countries. I think it's time we set up a special travel bureau offering its services to any Soviet citizen who wishes to visit some country or other.

Recently a group of former Soviet citizens was allowed to return to the U.S.S.R. Can they go back unhindered, if they want to?

Some of them have applied for exit visas again, despite their recent protestations of strong attachment for the homeland. We handle their cases with utmost dispatch and whatever procrasti-

nations occur are not through our fault. For instance, we promptly issued an exit visa to Mikhail Vinokur, who had decided to return to the U.S.A. The American embassy denied him an entrance visa, and he had to apply to the Dutch embassy.

Quite a few people who have left the U.S.S.R. for Israel on their relatives' invitations now live in other countries. Until now, this prevented them from inviting other members of their families to join them. Has anything changed in this respect?

This problem has been solved, too. If a former Soviet citizen who has left for Israel lives in a third country with which the U.S.S.R. maintains diplomatic relations, and has become a citizen of that country, he can send invitations to his relatives. The invitation will be considered in accordance with established procedure. Moreover, such an individual is free to come to the U.S.S.R. to see his relatives and visit the graves of his near ones. in--only

Can a person who has left for Israel but settled, say, in Austria, invite a relative from the U.S.S.R. for permanent residence?

Yes, he can. Incidentally, I remember such people saying that Israel is the only country they wanted to live in — only never to set foot on its soil. But this is certainly no concern of ours.

It happens sometimes that a person comes to the U.S.S.R. on an invitation for a stay of three months, but a sudden emergency compels him to return home for a day or two. In this case he has to go through the entrance formalities all over again, because his entrance visa has been cancelled.

We shall issue an exit visa and another entrance visa to such a person. And if he comes from a socialist country we shall extend a new invitation to him. The same procedure is applied when a foreigner comes to the Soviet Union to marry here. On filing the appropriate application with a registry office, he doesn't have to stay in the U.S.S.R. until the day scheduled for the wedding. Our department will make arrangements for him to travel home and come back in time.

Having married a foreigner, one can find oneself in a tragic position: the department may refuse the Soviet citizen an exit visa, while the foreign citizen may be denied the right to live in a given town.... Such or similar situations arise fairly frequently.

It is, of course, a tragedy when a man and wife cannot live together. But there may be serious grounds for denying a person an exit visa - say, his or her being privy to classified information. The problem is that marriage registration and exit procedures are governed by different laws. There are no obstacles to marrying foreigners. On the other hand, a Soviet citizen may not be free to leave the country, or a foreign citizen to reside here. We are prepared to explain to all those planning such a marriage what problems they could face as a result, so that they can soberly weigh all the pros and cons. All this, however, does not impose any restrictions whatsoever on the right of Soviet citizens to marry foreign nationals.

Taxes of 30 and 200 rubles are levied on Soviet citizens for exit visas to socialist and non-socialist countries, respectively. If a person intends to forgo Soviet citizenship, the taxes are increased to 50 and 500 rubles. Why such a differential? In general, aren't such high taxes at variance with international agreements?

True enough, international agreements provide for a gradual reduction of these taxes so as to bring them down to a moderate level in proportion to the average monthly income.... Notably, those leaving to attend a funeral or to visit the grave of a close relative are exempted from the tax. Local fiscal bodies may grant exit tax exemptions (full or partial) in other cases as well.

Suppose an individual learns that his request for reunification with his family has been turned down. If he considers this decision unfair, to whom does he appeal?

The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet looks into complaints lodged by citizens against our department's decisions and revokes them if they prove to have been mistaken ones.

Have any of your decisions been revoked by the higher authority?

They have, but not for being wrong. It was simply that some of the restrictions we had gone by had in the meantime become outdated or had been lifted, thus making a number of applicants eligible for exit visas.

This goes to show that the exit and entry procedure is being constantly improved in the Soviet Union, which accords with the process of a further democratization of our society.

On the desk of the department head I saw questionnaires with many of the questions previously put to those leaving the country on private business or on invitation crossed out. That is good, but the problem is that the department staff have proved unprepared for the increase in the number of cases waiting to be dealt with. The constantly lengthening waiting lists in the local branches of the Visa and Registration Department threaten to frustrate the promises of expediting matters. What is to be done about it? To increase the staff or drastically cut the formalities?

■

The scandal over the sale by Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft (HDW) of blueprints for a modern U-209 submarine to racist South Africa erupted against the background of Irangate. The West German shipbuilding concern managed to escape responsibility for violating the United Nations embargo on arms deliveries to Pretoria. But international anti-apartheid organizations have called for a boycott of HDW and the cancellation of deals already concluded with it. As a result, the Austrlian government is already asking itself whether it should buy new submarines in the F.R.G., or whether it would not be better to do so in Sweden. Anti-racist groups have also called on the government of Saudi Arabia to give up plans to buy submarines from HDW.

Yet the scandal over the submarines is only the tip of the iceberg. One has only to dig a little deeper to find numerous facts of violation of the U.N. embargo by West German business. In 1977 the information centre on South Africa, operating in Bonn and opposed to apartheid, obtained secret documents belonging to the government-controlled insurance company Hermes Kreditversicherungs-AG. The documents showed that the government had drastically increased its guarantees for major deals concluded with South African business. The veil of secrecy over yet another clandestine deal was lifted in 1983. It came to light during a court investigation of top officials of Rheinmetall AG that in violation of existing laws this military concern had sold the South African racists a complete plant for the manufacture of shells for a 155mm artillery system employed by NATO. The concern had acquired a licence for the export of this equipment to Paraguay. All the documents were filled out, and the cargo was shipped to South America, but in one of the ports it was reloaded onto a South African ship that was waiting for it there. Soon the construction of a military plant was started on the bank of the river Vaal. Areas in Angola were shelled by munitions produced at this plant as early as in 1983.

The cooperation between Bonn and Pretoria has deep roots. Trade, capital investments and military cooperation have been consistently expanding for many years. Both states have every reason to speak of "special mutual relations."

Special mutual relations

As early as in 1969 South African specialists gained access to West German research institutions engaged in

Underhand deals

BORIS ASOYAN

secret projects connected with arms manufacture and other activities of a military nature.

In the 1970s, the F.R.G. became one of Pretoria's biggest trade partners. West German banks, especially the Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank AG and Commerzbank AG, financed half of all credits granted to S.Africa. In terms of capital investments in the South African economy, West Germany rose to third place and began to threaten the position held by Britain. The profits were so great (18 per cent of the invested capital) that no protests against apartheid could cause any wavering in the industrialists' firm course for further strengthening their position on the South African market. By

1977 the total volume of capital investments in South Africa (including indirect investments through subsidiaries and export credit banks) had reached 12 billion marks.

The West German envoy to the United Nations, Rudiger von Wechmar, found himself in an awkward position when he stated the following in October 1974: "The Federal Republic of Germany adheres strictly to the Security Council resolutions and does not deliver any arms or other military equipment to South Africa." 3 years later, addressing the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid in Lagos, State Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Klaus von Dohnanyi repeated that "adhering to its general policy of an extremely limited sale of arms to other countries, the Federal Republic has for some decades observed an absolutely rigid embargo on the sale of arms to South Africa. And contrary to groundless, misinforming and, alas, sometimes malicious contentions, there is no cooperation whatsoever between the F.R.G. and South Africa in the military or nuclear field."

But meanwhile a mass of evidence of such cooperation has accumulated. At the time when von Wechmar was making his statement in the United Nations, representatives of the South African navy and the Armaments Council were conducting secret talks with Siemens and AEG-Telefunken on the construction of the Advokaat radar system, at a cost of 16 million dollars, to keep an eye on sea lanes around the Cape of Good Hope. Large areas of the South Atlantic and the Indian Ocean are now controlled by this system.

Talks on Pretoria joining NATO were conducted at about the same time, and the F.R.G. played an active role in them. In 1972 the military attaché of the South African embassy in Bonn and Admiral Rolf Steinhaus from the F.R.G. Defence Ministry were discussing the question of expanding NATO's sphere of activity in the South Atlantic. But at the time there was no consensus in the bloc's leadership on including South Africa in the NATO defence system. Several variants were suggested and it is known that the F.R.G. favoured the proposal to grant membership to South Africa and insisted that South Africa could fill the vacuum created by the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire in Africa, with much benefit for NATO.

During that period the F.R.G. Defence Minister repeatedly supplied the South African military attaché in Bonn "for his information" with documents intended for discussion at meetings of the NATO leadership. There was an intensive exchange of visits by high-placed military, among them senior officials of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS), the military intelligence and the top brass of all the services.

And while in Lagos von Dohnanyi was indignantly refuting the accusations against his country, the companies Jung A. and Thyssen Rheinstahl Technik were working hard to design a new tank for the South African army, and large consignments of military hardware, including combat helicopters, mine sweepers and ammunion, were being shipped to South Africa.

Missiles for apartheid

Hardly had the scandal over the submarines subsided than there appeared reports that Bonn had concluded a secret agreement with South Africa on the burying of radioactive waste in the Namib desert. This step, violating the United Nations resolutions on Namibia and completely ignoring the interests of the Namibian people, was taken at a time when Pretoria was intensifying preparations for the unilateral proclamation of the territory's "independence," an unlawfully occupied territory at that.

Bonn has never concealed its interest in Namibia, a former German colony. For it has huge deposits of uranium, diamonds and other valuable minerals. Together with other Western powers, the F.R.G. is ruthlessly pillaging Namibia's natural resources, thereby openly violating Decree No.1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia which prohibits the plundering of its natural resources. Thus, Bonn supports the occupying power, not its victim. It was learned with indignation in Africa that West German jurists are actively helping in the drafting of the so-called constitution that Pretoria is trying to foist on the Namibian people. Sam Nujoma, president of the South West Africa People's Organization, described these actions on the part of the F.R.G. as a flagrant interference in the Namibians' internal affairs.

Plans for the burial of radioactive waste in Namibia fully suit Bonn's approach to the question of nuclear cooperation with Pretoria. It is well known that West Germany has played a special role in the building of South African nuclear industry, including the military one. Published data irrefutably prove that the F.R.G. had intentionally violated United Nations resolutions when helping Pretoria in its nuclear research.

The first South African short-range missiles were tested with the help of the F.R.G. This happened back in 1968 at the missile range on Fanies Island. A year later air-to-air missiles jointly developed by the two sides were tested. The concern Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm took part in developing and testing missiles at the St.Lucia range built with its participation to the north of Durban.

In 1973 the mighty South African military corporation Armscor concluded a ten-year agreement with the West German Deutsche Forschungs-und Versuchanstalt für Luft-und Raumfahrt. Code-named Blue Grotto, it concerned the manufacture of missiles in the Kimberley area.

Components of South African missiles are manufactured by the subsidiaries of some transnational corporations based in the F.R.G. These include BMW, Diesel Electric Holding (a subsidiary of Robert Bosch GMBH), Liebherr Africa and Siemens.

With the help of West German capital and technology South Africa was able to organize in a short time the production of modern delivery means for weapons of mass annihilation. It will be noted that it is largely thanks to its rapid advance to the status of a nuclear (or at least near-nuclear) state with the aid of the F.R.G. and other Western powers that the racist regime permits itself so openly to ignore the world public's protests and pursue its policy of strength in southern Africa with virtual impunity.

Werewolf machines

The West German corporations are especially eager to invest capital in the strategic branches of the South African industry - electronics, automobile building and engineering.

Siemens, for instance, is very active in South Africa's computer market and is viewed as one of the biggest investors in the electronics industry, including its military sector. Daimler-Benz has close ties with Armscor and fulfils orders placed by it. This concern was involved in building the plant Atlantis for the manufacture of automobile diesel engines, some of which for the army. Another West German company, Magirus Deutz AG, sells spares to the South African company Magnis, which manufactures trucks, including military ones. Magirus Deutz AG also exports its own products to South Africa - "civilian" trucks which on reaching South Africa immediately turn into armoured personnel carriers. The G-5 artillery system is powered by an engine also supplied by Magirus Deutz AG. Similar trransformations occur with other "civilian deliveries." The West German Ministry of Finance permitted Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm to export BO-105 and BK-117 helicopters to South Africa on receipt of assurances that they would be used for peaceful purposes. But the moment they arrived in South Africa they were painted in army colours. The company Deutsche Airbus, the Bavarian subsidiary of Messerschmitt, sells S.Africa A-320 transport planes. After minimal conversion they are handed over to the military. Unimog trucks produced by Daimler-Benz are covered with armour and beginning to bristle with machine guns. True, in this case they get local names - Samil-20, Buffalo and Casspir. The Unimog chassis is used in the Valkiri rocket system.

Responding to charges of violations of the U.N. embargo on arms deliveries to South Africa, a spokesman for the F.R.G. Ministry of Finance stated in August 1985 that such deals would be permitted since the "end use cannot be controlled and should not determine whether a product is classed as military or civilian." Yet in 1985 alone South Africa received from West Germany various military equipment and weaponry to the sum of 65 million dollars.

A hard-pressing lobby

The F.R.G. continued to strengthen its position in South Africa despite the powerful wave of anti-racist protests that swept the West early in the 1980s. In 1984 it became the biggest exporter to South Africa, ahead of the United States, Japan and Britain. West German capital investments in the South African economy rose by 40 per cent between 1981 and 1985 to reach 1.1 billion dollars.

Even when most Western nations adopted limited sanctions against South Africa and a number of American and British firms were compelled to withdraw from the country, not a single of the West German concerns had renounced cooperation with the apartheid regime by 1987. More than that, BMW increased investments in enterprises under its ownership. Daimler-Benz also invested 75 million dollars in the expansion of the production of automobiles. The company flatly rejected even symbolical participation in sanctions against South Africa. "The sanctions will damage Africans, who comprise 80 per cent of our 5,000 workers," it was demagogically stated by the company's spokesmen.

Big business does not conceal why it has taken such a stand: extremely favourable conditions for exploiting cheap labour deprived of elementary political and social rights continue to exist in South Africa. Moreover, entrepreneurs believe (and not without reason) that should they live, their place would be immediately filled by less scrupulous businessmen from other countries.

A senior official at the West German Chamber of Trade and Industry in South Africa stated in 1986 that the policy of maintaining close ties with Pretoria remains unchanged because "so far we have not encountered much pressure from inside Germany, except from some church groups." "Unchanged?" Quite an understatement. There are changes and in the following direction: whereas in 1977 there were about 6,000 West German firms that had contacts with South Africa, by 1987 their number already exceeded 7,000.

The South African lobby in the Bundestag and the business community has the reputation of being the most dogged one in Western Europe. Franz Josef Strauss, to justify his support for Pretoria, declares that he fully shares the doctrine of apartheid. "It proceeds from a positive religious sense of responsibility for the development of the non-white population," he once said. "So it would be wrong therefore to speak of an oppression of non-whites by a superior race." There are also other West German politicians in the list of active abettors of the racist regime, among them former defence and foreign minister Dr Schröder, former finance minister Alex Möller, chairman of the CDU-CSU group in the Bundestag Alfred Dregger, Minister of Defence Manfred Wörner, Jürgen-Gerhard Todenhöffer, a member of the Bundestag from the CDU-CSU, and many other representatives of those circles who are still dreaming that the past will return and see in South Africa's apartheid their own unfulfilled aspirations.

....Forty policemen from West Germany arrived in South Africa in February 1986 (one of the bloodiest months in that country that year) to "exchange experience." In the course of twenty days they studied the work of their South African colleagues, many of whom arrived for the gatherings hot-foot from breaking up peaceful demonstrations in African townships. Brass bands blared, heavy mugs with frothy beer were clinked and toasts were proposed to "eternal friendship," "new traditions" and the "famous South African hospitality." Delighted with the reception, on returning home the West German policemen telegraphed an invitation to return the visit. "Contacts will continue despite everything," it was firmly stated by the initiator of the contacts, Ray Badenhorst, a Bavarian businessman. "We have remarkable mutual understanding."

A step towards partnership

It was announced recently that the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) has established an official relationship with the Latin American Economic System (LAES). Our reporter Boris Balkarei asked CMEA secretary Vyacheslav Sychev to answer several questions. The interview follows below.

Q. Can you introduce CMEA's new partner?

A. The Latin American Economic System was instituted in accordance with an international treaty known as the Panama Convention which was signed in October 1975. Twenty-six Latin American and Caribbean countries have acceded to this convention. The supreme body of the LAES, the Latin American Council, is composed of representatives of all the signatory states. The executive-administrative body, the Permanent Secretariat, has its headquarters in the Venezuelan capital of Caracas and is headed by a permanent secretary who is elected for a term of four years. Sebastian Alegrett of Venezuela currently holds this office. The purpose of the community is to promote economic and social progress in the region.

Q. How do you interpret the interest shown by LAES in cooperation with the socialist countries?

A. I think that only LAES can answer that question. According to reports, LAES experts met in Caracas last month. Sebastian Alegrett noted in his report at the meeting that promotion of relations with the socialist countries accorded with the LAES policy of reaching out to new markets in order to reduce the region's dependence on the U.S. and other Western countries, and to expand the range of Latin American exports. LAES seeks dependable partners with whom relations would be based on equality and mutual advantage, principles which, it was noted in the report, are championed by the CMEA states.

These arguments are understandable. For the Latin American countries the choice of partners and free cooperation are matters of great concern. They have seen for themselves over the years that "aid" from Western monopolies really means the right to export profits, and is thus a considerable drain on financial resources. No wonder 5 LAES countries have the biggest external debts. Between 1977 and 1986 a total of 450 billion dollars was pumped out of Latin America in the form of various debt payments.

We all know how this is done. When in 1977 the issue of financial assistance for Peru from the International Monetary Fund was raised, the government in Lima was told to grant full freedom to foreign and national private business, abandon its policy of consolidating the public sector, devalue the national currency, and restructure the machinery of the state.

By cooperating with the socialist countries, LAES members reasonably expect to reduce their dependence on Western monopolies and hence strengthen national sovereignty. This cooperation will enable them to regulate their economic activities independently.

Q. What grounds are there for believing this to be the case?

A. Very considerable grounds. First, the socialist community extends credits on more advantageous terms. Second, these credits will be repaid by what the developing countries produce. In other words, the credits are geared directly to economic advancement and, in effect, preclude debt accumulation.

Q. But how advantageous is it for CMEA countries to maintain such relations?

A. Let me first note that the CMEA countries have never linked efforts to assist the developing countries with a desire to obtain unilateral economic or political advantage. They have always proceeded from mutual advantage. We are interested in the well-ordered development of international economic, scientific and technolgoical ties, which is out of the question unless the gap in economic levels is gradually bridged and the economic and social backwardness of the developing countries, including those of Latin America, is overcome.

Of course, the CMEA countries want to export more and obtain more of the commodities they need, in this case not only traditional Latin American farm products, seafood and certain types of raw material, but also manufactured goods. Hence we think the comprehensive development of commercial, economic and scientific and technological ties with the Latin American states will pave the way for a rapid, stable growth of trade turnover between us.

Q. What does the bilateral relationship amount to at this present stage of cooperation?

A. It must be admitted that relations between CMEA and LAES have not been extensive in the past. CMEA countries account for just over 3 per cent of what the Latin American and Caribbean countries export and for only one per cent of their imports. Nor does cooperation in the sphere of technology and equipment amount to much either. Hence there is a wide field for work. Addressing a working meeting of CMEA and LAES representatives in Caracas in late May, Sebastian Alegrett described the present phase as one of transition towards a new and higher level in the bilateral relationship. Let me add that we hold the same view.

Q. Do you mean there will be some definite moves shortly?

A. Yes. Besides signing the documents instituting an official relationship between CMEA and LAES, we coordinated in Caracas a tentative programme of action for 1987-88. We intend jointly to analyse the present relationship and, proceeding from this, to outline concrete prospects for its development. We also hope that this analysis will identify the more effective trends and forms of cooperation. It is also planned to establish a systematic exchange of economic information between the CMEA and LAES secretariats. However, the main thing is to implement what we have planned. As I see it, neither side is interested in delaying the transitional stage.

REMINISCENCE AND HOPE

NEYA ZORKAYA

So July is here again. The Moscow International Film Festival is held in July every other year. It is one of the world's biggest film festivals and a prestigious one. And though it is somewhat younger than the Venice and Cannes film festivals, it has traditions and distinctive features all its own. This year's festival is the 15th and the first to be held in the new period, when the restructuring in Soviet cinema begun last year by the fifth congress of cinema workers is going ahead full steam. What will this festival be like? Will the changes in the cinema and the country as a whole be reflected in the character of this representative and rather cumbersome international film forum? What has the future in store for us?

"Baluyev" against "8 1/2"

The long-gone summer of 1959, the year the Moscow film festivals began, is associated with the golden cupolas and the white of the cathedrals, morning-fresh green lawns, the silver blue branches of fir-trees, dark-red brick walls. The festival was in the Kremlin! This amazed our foreign guests, who were accustomed to an entirely different atmosphere at film festivals: resorts, casinos, esplanades, beaches, glamorously dressed film stars. And here the films were being screened in the very heart of a huge city. Film shows started in a comfortable Kremlin Theatre, then, increasing in scale, were moved to the Grand Kremlin Palace. And then the festival spilled out beyond the Kremlin wall and reached the Rossiya Hotel on the Old Moscow site of Zaryadye, but was still concentrated round the Moskva River and Red Square. And so the tradition was established: the feature film contest is held in the Rossiya Concert Hall, the short and documentary films are screened in the hotel's Blue Hall, the children's film competition in the Young Pioneer Palace in the southwest of Moscow. And then there is what is called "the festival in the city": hors concours shows of films in the best cinema halls where the multitudes of devotees of the Tenth Muse who converge on the capital in July from all over the country are prepared to sit through three films in succession. Foreigners are always amazed by the queues at box offices. And then there are film shows for professionals at artists' and writers' clubs, the film market, debates, meetings of experts specializing in different areas of film-making, as well as press conferences, the cultural programme, excursions and travel. The festival with its lavish scale, crowds, and wealth of films was rivetting and even exhausting.

The festival's democratic character was its undoubted merit. It was free of the star cult and snobbery. Moscow accorded the same wholehearted and hospitable welcome to film-makers of genius and novices who had not yet been noticed by the public, to delegations from countries with highly-developed motion picture industries and to representatives of emergent states whose cinema was in its infancy. The opportunity to compete was open to all. And faults, as we know, are extensions of virtues. Anticipating events, I should explain that the paradox of restructuring as applied to our festival lay in the fact that its extremely democratic character had to be moderated. Experience has shown that excessive democracy can lead to a decline in standards of artistic excellence, less keen competition, and even to an undiscriminating attitude to films: in the past prizes were awarded on the principle of something for everyone (there were three golds, three silvers and a variety of other prizes offered by public organizations). The number of prizes has now been considerably reduced. The criteria for selection are to be far more stringent, and encouragement other than awards will be found for film-makers working in emergent film industries.

And yet how charming the open and easy atmosphere of the Moscow festival was. We might have quoted Pushkin: "What a motley collection of clothes and faces, fortunes, tongues and races." How many young talents rose to fame at the Moscow festival, how many films were enthusiastically applauded! Tears coursed down Federico Fellini's strong face as a capacity audience in a large cinema hall gave him a standing ovation when his film "8 1/2" earned him first prize at the Third Moscow Festival. True, neither the maestro nor the ecstatic audience were aware of the fact that the festival's directors had seriously considered "opposing" Fellini's film, its supreme frankness which can be achieved only by a great artist, with a mediocre Soviet production called "Meet Baluyev." That absurdity, typical of certain tendencies at past festivals, was ended by the jury and the public there and then. And Fellini's masterpiece, albeit very belatedly, is now to be released for general distribution in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile the name of the unfortunate Baluyev has become a term of opprobrium. Whenever an indifferent film is entered for the contest, people say: "Ah, Meet Baluyev."

The Moscow festival has had its unforgettable pages, legends and favourites. Muscovites remember the mournful, weary eyes of another famous Italian film director, Luchino Visconti, a member of the jury at the second festival. Visconti, already seriously ill, won everybody's admiration by his wonderful conscientiousness and aristocratic modesty. He displayed not only a profound knowledge of classical Russian literature, but also unquenchable interest in new features of Soviet life. And at the next festival the charming young actress Marina Vlady represented France on the jury. The chairman of the jury, the prominent Soviet film director Grigory Kozintsev, said that Marina's diligence and discipline were an example and a reproach to her older colleagues. Equipped with a note-pad, wearing large glasses, collected and serious, she was always the first to appear for the daily early-morning screenings.

Chairman of the jury for full-length feature films Robert De Niro has come to Moscow with his daughter, his son and even his friend.
Photo by Y. Inyakin and V. Dvoretsky

Amusing episodes, lyrical stories, meetings and anecdotes are associated with the Moscow festival. It was by a quirk of fate that two world-famous film actresses, Elizabeth Taylor and Gina Lollobrigida, met under the bright light of the chandeliers in the Georgievsky Hall at a gala reception in the Kremlin. Each was wearing a splendid snow-white gown, a Christian Dior creation. But, alas, the gowns were absolutely identical.

Next day, Western papers frontpaged the photographs showing the two stars dressed like twins. And in the newsreels shown at the end of the day's programme, the episode seemed quite touching. The two beauties, embarrassed and on the verge of tears, were being gently remonstrated with by Yekaterina Furtseva, Minister of Culture of the U.S.S.R., who seemed to be saying: "There is no reason to be upset. After all, clothes are

not all that important." It is said, however, that the actresses sued the famous fashion house that had sold each of them a dress claimed to be original and unique.

In-between periods in cinema?

As the years went by, the creative atmosphere and spontaneous gaiety started to leave the festival's lounges and particularly the screening hall, giving way to conventionalism, pomposity and boredom. Respected and prominent film-makers now only rarely appeared on the stage to present their films. More and more dealers, officials, persons not directly involved in film-making were coming for the festival. And the number of officials among the hosts was growing, too. The standard of the films, moreover, was gradually declining. There were a number of reasons for this, the chief one being that the host country was determined to take first prize, though it far from always entered trully good films. More often than not, outstanding films were shelved for reasons that now seem absurd. There were some exceptions though. Sergei Bondarchuk's "The Destiny of a Man" and "War and Peace," "Clear Sky" by Grigory Chukhrai, "Vassa" by Gleb Panfilov and Elem Klimov's "Go and See" really deserved the festival's first prize. Klimov's film won the award at the last festival. But neither Andrei Tarkovsky, Larisa Shepitko, Vasily Shukshin, or Averbakh lived to win a first prize. Their films were not even entered. There is to be a retrospective viewing of Andrei Tarkovsky's films during the current festival. It will be overcast by a sense of our grievous loss.

To revive the creative spirit of the Moscow festival, do away with the tedious regulations that became customary in the period of stagnation, when the outcome of the festival was decided in advance, remove pretentiousness, ensure that the festival is not just a formality - such are the tasks of the current festival. And in this sense there was a suitable "dress rehearsal" for the 1987 Moscow festival - the 20th festival of Soviet films held in Tbilisi. It was perhaps at times uneven, but bustling, lively and interesting. The jury, free of administrative and other pressure, came up with an unexpected decision. The film "Repentance," directed by Tenghiz Abuladze, which won the main prize, and was almost simultaneously awarded the special Grand Prix of the jury at Cannes, was followed on the list of winners by Kira Muratova's film "The Long Farewell." The film had been shelved for 12 years because of the attitudes taken by cinema officials, but it has retained its artistic novelty and freshness. The Tbilisi panel of film critics, which included foreigners, and earned the somewhat ironic appelation of "Areopagus," differed from the official jury on some points, and this, too, attested to the freedom of the expression of opinion. And at the festival's closing ceremony Eldar Shengelaya, the chairman of the jury, presented a beautiful prize, a golden shell, to the Lithuanian film studios "for taking a sober view of the merits of their productions." This was witty, indeed, for Lithuanian film-makers had **not** entered a single film for the contest, believing that none of the studios' productions deserved such a distinction. The studio director, keeping a straight face, went on stage to receive the prize. His hand was shaken, he was congratulated. And the audience laughed appreciatively and applauded. A touch of the ease and good humour of the Tbilisi festival would be in place in Moscow. It would relieve some of the restraint and dourness characteristic of northerners.

And the state of world cinema in 1987 leaves much to be desired. Such is the consensus of film critics from different countries. In the historic developoment of art there are in-between periods, when distinctive revolutionary aesthetic ideas, discoveries and leaders are absent. The inner processes that precede a new wave may be at work, and it is on this that our hopes are pinned.

There is, moreover, the hangover from the period that has just ended. Entering their films, countries continue to be guided by past experience of the Moscow festival. They believe that the premium is still set on good intentions, rather than their successful execution, and that various considerations and interests that have nothing to do with art often predominate. Much has been done during the preparation for the festival to end faulty or illegal practices, and raise the standard of the programme and especially of the contests as much as possible, given present conditions.

The tasks of grand jury

The number of entries for the main competition, that of full-length feature films, has been drastically reduced, for the emphasis on quality and broad representation has proved unjustified. Only some 30 films have been chosen to compete this year. It is the first time that competent critics, representatives of the U.S.S.R. Cinema Workers' Union, and not officials from film-purchasing organizations have gone to countries with a highly developed cinema to select the films. The films were then viewed by a discriminating festival commission. The world's leading film directors are taking part in the competition: Francis Ford Coppola is presenting his latest film "Gardens of Stone," Federico Fellini, always a favourite with Soviet filmgoers, has brought Italy's entry, "The Interview," and Bo Widerberg of Sweden, his "Serpent's Way." The names Milos Forman ("Ragtime," U.S.A.), the famous Italians Ettore Scola, Francesco Rosi and other outstanding film directors grace the programme of hors concours shows.

The principle roles in the films entered for the contest are played by world-famous actors such as Yves Montand and Gérard Depardieu ("Jean de Florette," France). There are interesting serious films on the contest programme: the British film, "Charing Cross Road, 84," the Austrian film "Schmutz," as well as the brilliant "Immigrant Birds" made at Afghanfilm studios by Abdul Latif.

The Polish film "Hero of the Year," a contemporary, topical and unusual film, distinguishes itself among the films entered by European socialist countries. Poland's whole entry for the festival is interesting. I need only mention the film "The Race," an incisive anti-Stalinist film by debutant Jerzy Domaradzki, and the Soviet entry, a charming and sincere film "The Courrier" by the talented Karen Shakhnazarov.

The Soviet choice for the short and documentary film contest and for hors concours programme is commendable. The list opens with a depressing title, "Chernobyl. A chronicle of stress." This is the posthumous screening of a film by the Ukrainian director Vladimir Shevchenko, who died when the film was being shot. "This is not just a film. This is a feat," said the cinema workers who prepared the showing. It should be added that it was both a personal and a professional feat. The lack of any preconceived plan (there was no time to plan), film exposed by radiation, enhance the impact of that historic document.

The Soviet Union's hors concours programme includes a number of outstanding films, from the Latvian "Is It Easy to Be Young?" directed by Juris Podnieks to brand new films from central, republican, and regional documentary film studios, and this really is the reorganization in this country that documentary cinema is the first to register.

There is also an important innovation: widespread activity on the part of cinemagoers, and especially from cinema clubs, has achieved results: the Gorizont Cinema House will be taken over by film fans who will have two juries of their own: the Grand Jury, consisting of all the people in the hall and the Lesser Jury, consisting of representatives of cinema clubs from all over the country.

There will be a number of special retrospective screenings, one of them a large programme "Ideas of October and World Cinema," devoted to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. There will be two other retrospective programmes: one with show of films by the founder of Italian neo-realism, Giuseppe de Santis, and another the work of an Italian actor well known in the Soviet Union, Gian Maria Volonté.

So the festival offers quite a few films to equal!

There remains the pleasant duty of naming the illustrious members of the jury of full-length feature films. The chairman is one of the finest contemporary American actors, Robert De Niro ("Novecento-1900," "Godfather II," "Taxi Driver," "Mission") The jury includes European film star Hanna Schygulla (F.R.G.), Tenghiz Abuladze and Rustam Ibragimbekov of the U.S.S.R., the director of the Institute of Foreign Art of the People's Republic of China and prominent theoretician Cheng Xuelai, Italian film critic Gian Luigi Rondi, Moroccan film director Souheil Ben Barka (his memorable film "Amok" won the Grand Prix at the 13th Moscow Film Festival), French producer Alexander Mnouchkine (there must be at least one businessman on the jury), the famous Hungarian director Miclos Jancso and no less famous Krzysztof Kieslowski of Poland, Mexican director Alberto Isaak and the fascinating spanish dancer, actor, choreographer and director Antonio Gades.

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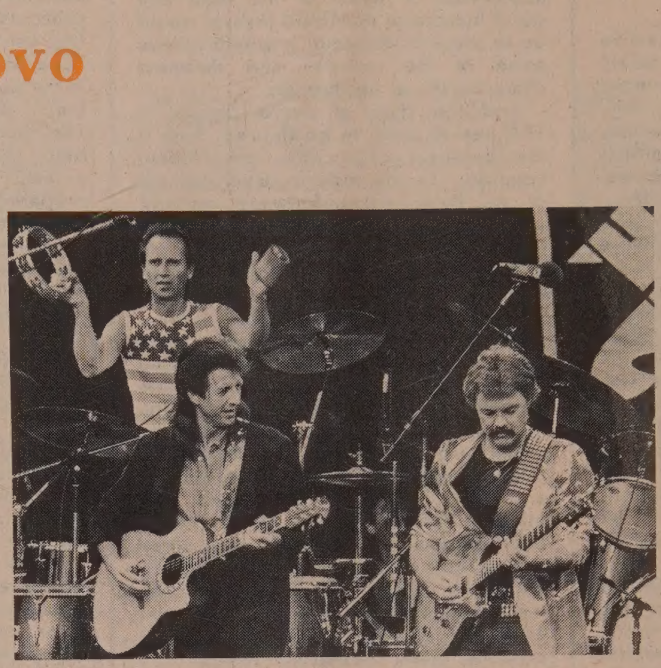
Rock concert in Izmailovo

The Soviet-American March for Peace and Disarmament culminated on July 4 in a gala concert at the Izmailovo stadium in Moscow. Both Soviet and American musicians performed.



The Doobie Brothers in action.

Photo by A. Fyodorov

"It was fantastic," said Bill Graham, the prominent Californian impresario. "Right up to the very last moment nobody thought it would be possible. However it took only a couple of telephone calls! The Soviet Peace Committee suggested it and we took it up at once."

The Saturday show was the first joint concert ever in the history of Soviet-American relations. It was absolutely free, with the financial end handled by Californian computer magnate and rock buff Stephen Wozniak, who said, "I was sure right from the start that it would be a success. We had no commercial considerations in mind and whenever understanding and noble motives are uppermost success is guaranteed."

It is the first time an open-air rock gala on a sports ground has been staged in Moscow. Twelve juggernauts brought in all the equipment for the Omega group from Hungary.

That the gala was scheduled for July 4, American Independence Day, was not fortuitous. In fact, the Moscow show is to have a follow-up, with a similar gala to take place in Washington next November 7, with the same entertainers, if possible.

Who were the entertainers in Izmailovo?

For Soviet music-lovers singer Bonnie Raitt is a dark horse. A Cambridge University graduate, she took up jazz and in 1972 took part in the Ann Arbor festival. She made her first LP a year earlier. Students adore her.

Ballader James Taylor, 39, has been to the fore in the pop world since 1966. He considers "Sweet Baby James" and "In the Pocket" his best discs. He too is very popular with American student audiences.

Before they came to Moscow, the Doobie Brothers did an extremely successful tour of the U.S. Their two latest LPs, "One Step Closer," and "The Best of Songs," are high on the American charts. Music critics say they have been the most consistently popular group through the 1970s and 1980s. They combine hard rock with blues and jazz, and their 1978 record "Minute by Minute" is still ranked as the best American pop vocal.

"I was absolutely sure," guitarist Tom Johnston, who leads the group, said at rehearsals, "that the concert would be the first move towards musical exchanges and would help us trust each other. We are happy to be performing for Muscovites."

I first met virtuoso guitarist Carlos Santana in Budapest in May. He told me then that for 20 years he had wanted to perform in the Soviet Union - and there he was handing out autographs in Moscow. He says he has already met some fascinating Soviet musicians. He had a jam session with the Russian Cruise group guitarist, Valery Gaina, and the handclasp they exchanged after their five-minute "warming up" meant far more than hundreds of rave notices.

"As promised, I shall be performing in the Soviet capital," Santana grinned. "Such joint music forums must become regular events, as music is peace."

Soviet entertainers included the popular folklore groups Russkaya Pesnya (Russian Song), Bylina (Ballad), and Rusichi; Vladimir Presnyakov, 19; Laima Vaikule, winner of the Bratislava Lyre-87; Janna Bichevskaya, Anatoli Kroll's band Sovremennik (Contemporary) and the rock combo Avtograph (Autograph) which this July 7 gave its first recital in London's prestigious Hammersmith Odeon.

The 30,000-strong audience in Izmailovo that sunny Saturday heartily applauded the participants in the March for Peace and Disarmament as they walked along the cinder track.

Opening the recital the Sovremennik band presented a medley of well- known American jazz pieces and Russian folk songs.

Every performer was given an enthusiastic encore. Now and again somebody would start break dancing on the grass in front of the stage, or do a typical Russian knee-kick. I spotted a well-washed denim jacket with the words "For more quality goods" embroidered on it in Russian.

Though the concert had already lasted over five hours, the audience all looked forward to Santana's number. As his guitar sobbed and laughed, hundreds of hands raised burning cigarette lighters overhead.

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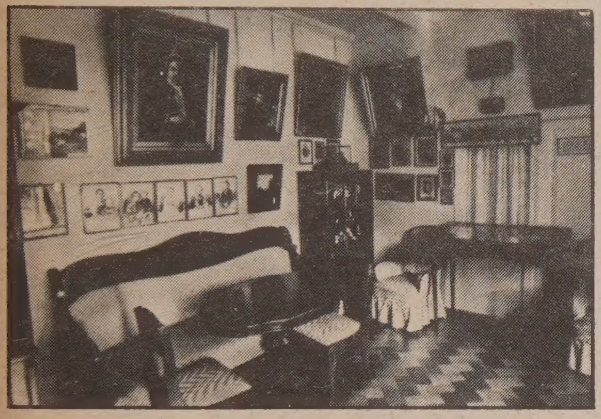
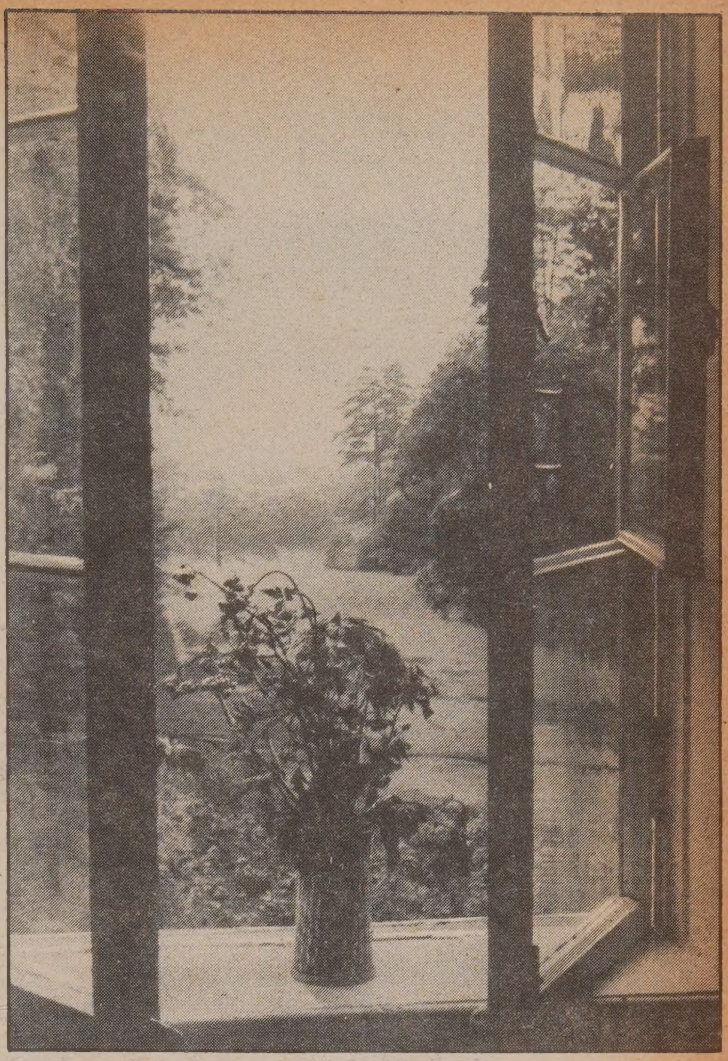
Polenovo

Just over a century ago the celebrated Russian artist Vasily Polenov traded his plot of fertile land near Tula for a tract of sandy wilderness on the bank of the Oka, where the river describes a sweeping curve. His idea was to found a museum open to all in the very heart of Russia, far away from noisy cities. The artist's friends—Mikhail Vrubel and Victor Vasnetsov—helped him build and decorate the house. The first contribution to the museum's collection of pictures was by the painter Ilya Repin. In 1892, Polenov's dream came true. Since then people have poured in their millions from all corners of the country to see work by outstanding Russian painters, and breathe the unique atmosphere of this old house (its custodian Fyodor Polenov, the painter's grandson, is seen bottom left).

Promoting amateur theatricals has always been a tradition at the Polenovo museum. Today, just as they were a century ago, local schoolchildren hurrying to rehearsals are a familiar sight.





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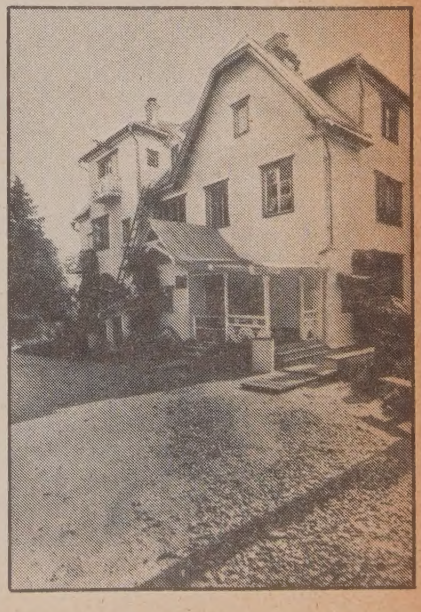

The path of tears.

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